

NARRATIVE
OF
A VISIT
TO THE
COURT OF SINDE

HYDERABAD ON THE INDUS;

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES AND A MAP;

WITH A SKETCH
OF THE
HISTORY OF CUTCH,

AND
AN APPENDIX.

BY
JAMES BURNES, K.H. LL.D. F.R.S., &c.
BOMBAY ARMY.

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AUTHOR

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

PAVEE HILL, DECEMBER 1. 4. June 1824

THE BRITISH POLITICAL RESIDENT IN CANTON

SIR,—I have the honor to submit to you some observations on my late visit to Sinde, together with a few remarks, which may probably be considered of importance, on the actual government of that country. As I have had an opportunity of being intimately acquainted with their Highnesses the Amiers, and as I was at some pains during my residence at their capital, to ascertain their character and habits, I am not without the hope of bringing to the notice of government some new and interesting particulars regarding the singularly constituted court of Hyderabad.

I was indeed allowed little leisure for writing while in Sinde, and as I left that country under an impression that I should immediately return to it, I was less minute in my inquiries than I would have otherwise been, though I had nevertheless collected a small stock of information, which I flattered myself might be of some importance to government. Since my return to Cutch, however, I have had an opportunity, through your kindness, of perusing several documents on the subject of Sinde, and I have been

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INTRODUCTORY LETTER.

surprised to find, that most of the matter to its history, resources, &c. which I propose to communicate as new, is already on record, in form which I have no expectation of equalling in the various reports of Messrs. Crow, Seton and Ellis, and also in Pottinger's Travels in Belochistan.

Under these circumstances, I fear that little more remains for me, than to give a mere personal narrative of my proceedings. But, even in pursuing this apparently easy course, I shall encounter some difficulty. An official form is certainly not the best suited for detailing the impressions made upon my mind, by the scenes through which I passed; nor ought these probably to constitute the subject of the following pages. Still, as government, by their letter of the 23d April last, have left the nature of my report in a great measure to myself, I must rely on the kind consideration of the Honourable the Governor, to pardon the introduction of matter, which, although unnecessary in a public point of view, may not, I hope, be devoid of interest to himself and his colleagues.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES BURNES, M. D.

Residency Surgeon.

PRETACE

THE following narrative, which consists simply of an official report on a country till of late years little known, was originally printed at the public expense, by the Government in India and first issued from the press at Bombay in 1830. During the following year it was republished in England, and attracted a degree of consideration which had never been anticipated, having been not only warmly praised in many of the foreign and British periodicals, but even partly incorporated into some of the great standard works of the day. The second edition has long been exhausted, and considering the interest that has lately been directed to the regions bordering on the Indus, it is believed that a third will not prove unacceptable to the public.

When the author indulged in the speculations which will be found in this volume, he little foresaw that his visit to Sind would be followed by such a train of stirring events in reference to the Indus, as the course of ten years has developed. In 1831, the river was successfully navigated from the Ocean to Lahore by his Brother, - during 1832-3 and 4 negotiations were in progress, and treaties entered into with the Ameers.

which would be implicitly believed, and the affair would then probably end in his being circumcised!" This is one out of a hundred instances which I witnessed, and these cruelties were of daily occurrence, as the officers of the mission can testify. On another occasion, in cross-questioning a Mussulman respecting the population of a town, I asked if the number he mentioned comprised both sects, to which he answered, "Who counts the Hindoo dogs, they are neither included nor considered?" In fact, there can, I am afraid, be no reason to question the opinions long ago expressed by the late Captain M'Murdo, that the Mahommedans of Sind are the most bigotted, self-sufficient, and ignorant people upon earth.

The Ameers of Sind are less sunk in sensuality and indulgence than Mahommedan princes in general. They seem to be men of too proud and ambitious a turn of character to be much influenced by the allurements of pleasure, or it is more probable that these have already palled upon their taste. Mourad Ali asked me, on one occasion, whether I had any objection to his taking *daroo*, a word which I understood in its usual acceptation of ardent spirits; and I was proceeding to explain that it would be better to avoid all stimulants, and particularly wine, for the present, when he abruptly interrupted me by begging that I would not use the name of the forbidden juice of the grape in the presence of a true believer. I found afterwards that his Highness only meant a pomegranate; and although this anecdote may

give an impression of display before a large assembly, still I believe it is well ascertained that the Ameers never indulge in intoxicating drugs or liquors. They have been known to dismiss persons with disgrace from their presence, who have appeared before them redolent of wine, and Bahadoor Khan Cokur, a Beloochee chief of high birth, in the service of Meer Mourad Ali Khan, was suspended from his employments for a considerable time from having been once seen in a state of intoxication. The Ameers universally objected to take medicine in the shape of tinctures, from the spirits they contained. There is not a hookah to be seen at their court, nor do any of the family ever eat opium. It were to be hoped, that this temperance on the part of the rulers had had a proportionate effect on their subjects, but experience obliges me to declare, that most of the soldiery, and many of the courtiers, are addicted to every species of indulgence that can either enervate the mind or debilitate the body. The eating of opium is as common in Sindh as in Cutch, and I found no pretence more acceptable than a few bottles of brandy, and no annoyance more intolerable than incessant indirect applications to repair the ravages of unlawful disease, or to renew the powers wasted in luxury and debauch.

The Ameers commence business about two hours before day break, when each holds a private levee, to listen to complaints and adjust the affairs relative to his peculiar province. It is on this occasion only that they wear turbans. About sunrise they repair to their apartments to dress,

and appear shortly afterwards in durbar, where the whole family regularly assemble, and where all state proceedings are transacted. The letters which have arrived during the night or preceding day, are then thrown before them in a heap, and the time is passed in reading, or giving orders regarding them, and in conversation, till ten or eleven o'clock, when they withdraw to their morning repast. At two o'clock they again show themselves abroad, and remain together till dark, when they separate for the night to their respective places of abode. My visits were always during the public durbars; nor had I, on any occasion, an opportunity of conversing privately with any one of the principal chiefs. On retiring to their residences, the younger princes held separate levees of their own, where every thing formed a contrast to the stately ceremonial of the elder Ameers. There all restraint was thrown aside; and we visited the stables, saw boar-baiting, fencing, ball practice, wrestling, and many other species of amusement.

During the lifetime of Meer Futteh Ali Khan, and while the convulsions by which the family gained the supreme power were recent, extraordinary precautions were taken to prevent treachery or combinations against themselves. The four brothers used to eat together, and sleep in one chamber, which was lighted only at the door-way, while numbers of saddled horses and attendants were kept ready for any emergency. The continued tranquillity of Sinde for the last thirty years has at length lulled its rulers into confi-

dence, but their vigilance is still such as in a great measure to bid defiance to conspiracy. They do not now, as formerly, dine and repose in the same room, but they all pass the night in halls outside of their apartments, with their arms by their sides, and watched by trusty retainers.

Their distrust of each other is one of the most singular features in their character. I have already mentioned, that Meer Mourad Ali's illness had confined them all within the fortress of Hyderabad for many months, and when they proceed on their hunting excursions, they are too cautious to leave any one of their number behind. It was merely by lingering a few miles in rear of the rest that Meer Sobdar Khan found means to escape to Islamkote, and there raise his rebellion. Power, under such a system of suspicion and alarm, is scarcely to be envied, and I gave Meer Mourad Ali Khan credit for the justice of a sentiment he once feelingly expressed to me, and which he had copied, no doubt, from some Persian author,—that there is a heavy load, like lead, on the head of princes, the full misery of which none but princes can appreciate, a fair confession, that his was any thing but a bed of roses.

In their manners at the durbar, the Ameers were courteous but, for the most part, haughty and reserved, nothing approaching to familiarity appeared to exist between them and their most favoured servants. When a chair was brought in for me, two couches were at the same time introduced, one of which was occupied by the principal chiefs, and the other by the young princes

All the courtiers and attendants sat at a respectful distance on the floor, or stood outside; and I never, on any occasion, except once or twice, when Meer Ismael Shah and some favourite peerzadas, or descendants of saints, were allowed the honour, observed even their highest officers permitted to sit on the same elevation with themselves. The Ameers generally came into their levee together, and left it at the same moment. During my stay at Hyderabad, all the durbars were held in Meer Mouroz Ali's apartments, on account of his illness; but it is customary for them to meet alternately at each others' residences.

I have already, in describing my first interview, alluded to their dresses, and the general style of their court. With the exception of the Cashmere shawls, and the loongies or sashes of silk and gold, which I formerly mentioned, and which are made at Tatta, the cloths worn were generally of English manufacture. As the cold season advanced, and they were obliged to lay aside the muslin tunics, their Highnesses used to appear in robes or cloaks, made of the most valuable description of Cashmere shawls, gorgeously embroidered with gold lace, and lined with the black fur of Candahar. On other occasions, their apparel consisted of European damask silk, or satin lined with some warmer material, and quilted with cotton, so as to be nearly impenetrable to a sword or a dagger. One of the best-dressed men at their court, their uncle, Meer Mahmood Khan, a particularly handsome old man, wore a surcoat of flowered pink satin. Meers Kurm Ali Khan

and Nusseer Khan were differently attired almost every morning, and I have often recognized a favourite servant clothed in the habiliments they had worn a few days previously.

But of all the things which are calculated to engage the attention of a stranger on visiting the court of Sindh, none will excite his surprise more, or is really more worthy of observation, than the brilliant collection of jewels and armour in possession of the Ameer. A great part of their immense treasure consists in rubies, diamonds, pearls, and emeralds, with which their daggers, swords, and matchlocks are adorned, and many of which they wear as rings and clasps on different parts of their dresses. They have still in their possession the emerald alluded to by Colonel

which was cut in the shape of a parroquet, as large as life. The fall of the Cabul monarchy has reduced to indigence and ruin most of the princes and nobility of that kingdom and has forced them to part with ornaments of great value, many of which have been bought up, at low prices, by persons sent by the Ameer to take advantage of their necessities. Merchants, with precious stores, are encouraged to visit Sindh from all parts of Asia, in consequence of the ready market they meet with at the capital for their valuables, and one or two Persian goldsmiths are engaged at court, where they work in enamel, and contrive expedients to display the jewellery of their masters

prince, and depend entirely on the Ameers for their rank and situation in society. Of them it is unnecessary to say much. They do not carry with them to their own houses that neatness of dress and respectability of deportment, which are exacted from them at the durbar; and as they are generally extremely poor, (the whole wealth of the country being chiefly in the hands of the rulers,) they have no means of making display. The favourites of the Ameers may be distinguished by gold-mounted swords, which are the highest honorary distinctions conferred by the Hyderabad durbar. It is contrary to the usage of the court to wear side-arms ornamented with any of the precious metals, not presented by their Highnesses; and as they are rather sparing in their favours, the honor is much appreciated. For very high service, the Ameers sometimes, though rarely, give one of their valuable blades adorned with diamonds.

It would be in vain to expect independence of feeling where all are really so dependent. The Sindo Courtiers can only retain their places by

whites. The head is extremely short. The muzzle abruptly pointed and whitish—a disc of the same colour encircling the eye. The horns, which are infrequent, and occur in the male only, are more slender than those of the common axis—the brow and forehead being simply short processes, or rather snags. The cry of the Parbh is a curtailed bark, followed by a whine resembling that of the dog. These animals are usually found among low and tangled grass jungles along the banks of rivers, where they congregate in small troops. Being of an exceedingly irascible and pugnacious turn, they are kept by the Rao of Cutch for public exhibitions, and are then pitted like rams, their horns and faces having first been smeared with the red powder called *Sendoor*.

the Shah Nameh, there was one of his own composition, together with a stanza from the pen of Wullee Mahommed Khan. Meer Nusseer Khan presented me with one on which were inscribed six lines written by himself for the occasion, and where my own name is introduced.

The swords do not appear heavier than our common English sabres, but they are differently balanced, and I have seen one of the young princes with a single stroke cut a large sheep in two pieces, a feat which somewhat reminded me of that told of the famous Saladdin in Sir Walter Scott's "Tales of the Crusaders." There is a certain mode of striking with them, which requires great practice and dexterity, as one of Meer Ismail Shah's sons broke a very valuable blade in a similar experiment a short time before I went to Hyderabad. Our English cutlery, which is so generally esteemed throughout Europe, has little value in the estimation of the Ameers. They had never heard of a sword from Great Britain of any price, and I raised their curiosity to the utmost by informing them that his Majesty had lately presented one of his great lords (the Duke of Northumberland,) on his return from a complimentary embassy, with one worth a lac of rupees.

They seemed to be fully sensible, however, of the superiority of our gun locks, a number of which they entreated me to beg the government to procure for them. I saw several expensive and highly finished fire-arms which had been presented to them from time to time, by our auth-

had yet occurred of our having had to contend with one where prince and subjects were united in a common cause. The Ameers, no doubt, indulged the illusion, that their's was the happy principality which would, with one accord, resist a hostile invader ; but I referred them to the history of all the conquests of Hindoostan, whether the courtiers had not invariably deserted their sovereign when he was likely to be unfortunate.* To the Burmese war they also once alluded, and remarked that many of our troops had perished in that struggle ; to which I replied, that it had been by the climate, and added, what they either did not know, or were unwilling to allow, that the peace had been brought about by the cession of large tracts of country, and a considerable payment in money.

But no topic was so interesting to the Ameers as that of Cutch ; to which they repeatedly referred, and respecting which they made the most minute inquiries. They all spoke of it as a province which would make the best hunting-forest in the world, and requested me frequently to describe the mode of sport, and particularly hog-hunting, followed by English gentlemen in that country. Their admiration was at its height when I informed them, that in a single district above

* " But what contributed most to weigh down the scale of conquest was the degeneracy of the Patans, effeminated by luxury, and dead to all principles of virtue and honour, which their corrupt factions and civil discord had wholly effaced ; it being now no shame to fly, no infamy to betray, no breach of honour to murder, and no scandal to change parties." — FERISHTA.

Sixty wild hogs had been killed by a small party of officers, of which I was one, in the course of a month. One day they observed, that, as the government probably required at other stations the troops composing the Bhooj brigade, they would garrison Cutch for us with five or six thousand Beloches, as a token of friendship, a proposal which, I believe, would have been communicated in a letter through me, had I not evinced marked indifference concerning it.

They often descanted on the disadvantages we had suffered by taking such a wretched country into our hands, which cost us more than it produced, and they told me once, that if government would transfer the sovereignty of it to them, they would provide the security of the richest merchants for the regular payment of a tribute equal to the present subsidy. I had the curiosity to enquire how they would profit by such an arrangement, even if it were practicable, and found it to be their opinion that the revenues were embezzled by the ministers of the Rao. On my assuring them that there was really very little wealth in Cutch, Meer Mourad Ali Khan intimated, that he could find means to extract some. As they appeared so interested, I entered into an explanation with them to show the respect we had for treaties, which, whether injurious or not, we were bound by honour to maintain, and surprised them, perhaps, by adding, that we would waste our blood and treasure as readily in the defence of Cutch, as of the richest and most productive of our dominions.

Regarding the war between Russia and Persia, and even the capture of Tabreez, intelligence of which arrived when I was at Hyderabad, they expressed no concern. The Sikh, as they termed Runjeet Sing, they generally spoke of disrespectfully, and once mentioned to me, in an indignant manner, that he would not allow one of the faithful to approach within several feet of him. With respect to the affairs of the Punjab, Meer Mourad Ali Khan asked me whether our government did not supply money to Seyyid Ahmed Shah, who is now carrying on the Mahomedan crusade against the Sikhs: I expressed my wonder that any person could form such an idea, since it was notorious that the Seyud was fighting solely for the faith; but my answer did not seem to convince them, as they remarked, that though the Bombay government, whose servant I was, knew nothing of the matter, it was probably very well understood at Bengal.

Of His Majesty and the royal family, and many other circumstances connected with England, they spoke with a knowledge which surprised me, once observed, that English sailors and British soldiers were the best in the world. They

also knew the character and fall of the Emperor Napoleon, but were ignorant of his death. Of vaccine inoculation they had heard by report; and when I explained its advantages, they declared their intention of establishing it in Sind, and requested me to assist them with the means of doing so. Among other subjects I told them of the grand discovery of steam-engines; but in this,

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the remainder of the interview, and I understood afterwards, from some persons who remained behind me at the levee, that they again reverted to the subject of the map, without concealing their chagrin and vexation that the *Feringees* knew every thing.

In the preceding paragraphs I have endeavoured to give some idea of the manners and habits of the Ameers of Sind, while they are resident at their capital. Once or twice a month, when they are all in good health, they pay visits to their different shikaragahs, or preserves for game; and as they are attended, on these occasions, by large retinues, and never previously announce in which direction they mean to travel, they thus combine, with a passion for the chase, a species of policy which enables them to keep their several districts in awe. They take the field with hawks, dogs, &c., but their mode of killing game would have little charms for an European sportsman. They never expose themselves to the sun, but remain comfortably seated in a house till the deer or hog is forced to come before them to a small tank or well to drink, when they shoot him deliberately, and receive the acclamations of their followers.

The shikargahs are large tracts of jungle so carefully inclosed as to prevent the egress of all quadrupeds; and when their Highnesses proceed to them, all the wells, except the one in front of their tents or bungalows, are closed up, and the game is hunted till dire necessity obliges it to seek for water, at the risk of life, in the manner above alluded to. Sometimes they station them-

selves in temporary buildings, or elevated platforms, between two shukargahs nearly adjoining, in one of which several hundred matchlockmen are posted to expel the frightened animal, which, in endeavouring to escape through a passage made for the purpose into the neighbouring preserve, is intercepted and killed by the Ameer.

Game restrictions of extraordinary severity are established to guard the aristocratic privileges of the princes, the common people, except in the capacity of beasts for their masters, never being permitted to enter the hunting forests, or to destroy game in their vicinity, under pain or death,—a degree of tyranny monstrous even for Sinde, and which would almost exceed belief, did we not know, on undoubted authority, that the late Meer Futteh Ali Khan on one occasion depopulated, at a loss to his revenue of between two and three lacs of rupees annually, one of the most fertile spots in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, because it was frequented by a species of hog deer, the *Kota pacha*, (*axis Porcinus*), which he had most pleasure in hunting, and that, more recently, Meer Mourad Ali Khan unrelentingly banished the inhabitants of an ancient village, and razed it to the ground, because the crowing the cocks, and the grazing of the cattle, disturbed the game in his brother's domain, which is contiguous.

The Ameer never hunt on horseback, but sometimes, though rarely, go out deer shooting on camels, none, except themselves, are permitted to fire at any game, and there is scarcely a

sporting excursion which does not cost them the lives of two or three of their subjects, either from false aiming on their own part, or the fury of boars, &c. driven desperate.* Most of the grantees in Sinde, when they appear in public, are attended by their bazbans or falconers, with hawks, some of which are of great value. I saw a bird which had cost Meer Kurm Ali Khan two thousand rupees; and his Highness presented me with one of a scarcely inferior price. The best are, I understand, brought from Turkistan, and the northern parts of Cabul. I was very forcibly struck with the exquisitely embroidered hawking gloves of the Ameers, which are made of the skin of one of their favorite game animals, the Sambur (*cervus Aristotelis*)† ornamented with gold thread.

* As the rulers of Sinde are not particular in their mode of firing, it frequently occurs that horses, men, and camels are included in the list of killed and wounded.

The poor people are not permitted to enter the preserves, and I was informed that if caught in the act of shooting game even in their vicinity, they have not unfrequently been punished by death.—CAPT. DELHOSTE'S M.S. Journal.

† For the following description of the Sambur, and Kota Pacha the author is indebted to his esteemed friend, Captain W. C. Harris.

“The Sambur is the largest of the deer tribe in Asia, a full grown stag frequently attaining the height of sixteen hands at the shoulder. The colour, with the exception of a white under-lip, and a pale yellow disc round the eye, is tan below, and of an uniform dull brown above, varying to slate colour in some specimens, and even almost verging upon black. The hair is coarse, resembling split whalebone in its texture, and encreasing in length about the neck and shoulders so as to form a long shaggy mane, susceptible of being fully erected when the animal is excited, at which period both the suborbital cavities, and the nostrils, are dilated to their utmost extent. These peculiarities, added to an incessant stamp-

In Sind, as in all oriental countries, the cour-
tiers exist only in the presence and favour of the

mechant The antlers, which are uniformly cast in the month of April, (the time at which the rutting season commences) and reproduced during the rains augment progressively in volume with the age of the animal, until they attain an enormous size They stand upon a short and broad pedicle, and consist of a round rugous beam, with a ponderous brow and bez antler—the burr being pearled and very prominent The female resembles the male in shape and colour, but on a smaller scale, and has no horns She produces one or two at a birth

“The apple of the tree called by the natives of India *mendhole*, constitutes the favourite food of the Sambur, and it is attached also to all bitter forest fruits Its cry or bell is a shrill pipe, resembling wired music, or the sound produced by striking a gong with great violence The animal, when alarmed, also emits a sound which in the jungles might often be mistaken for the rumbling of distant thunder At these times, the whole of the hair

his chosen haunts, in the heart of the most dense and unfrequented forests, he looks down with contempt upon his pursuers from the rocky pinnacles of the mountain, whose rugged sides he has traversed with the greatest facility —*M S Sporting Journal*,
by W C HARRIS

“The brown Porcine axis the Kota pacha or Parah of the Sindians, attains the height of two feet at the shoulder, and is somewhat higher at the croup The legs are short, and the contour exceedingly robust, and destitute of grace The general colour is a deep black brown, marked with a line (or two) of white spots on either side of the spine, which, however, disappear altogether as the animal advances in age The scut is

prince, and depend entirely on the Ameers for their rank and situation in society. Of them it is unnecessary to say much. They do not carry with them to their own houses that neatness of dress and respectability of deportment, which are exacted from them at the durbar; and as they are generally extremely poor, (the whole wealth of the country being chiefly in the hands of the rulers,) they have no means of making display. The favourites of the Ameers may be distinguished by gold-mounted swords which are the highest honorary distinctions conferred by the Hyderabad durbar. It is contrary to the usage of the court to wear side-arms ornamented with any of the precious metals, not presented by their Highnesses; and as they are rather sparing in their favours, the honor is much appreciated. For very high services, the Ameers sometimes, though rarely, give one of their valuable blades adorned with diamonds.

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government, and have palanquins and bearers maintained for them ; an honour which they share unrivalled by any other subject in the country.

The Nuwab, Wullee Mahommed Khan Lagharee, is by the Ameers themselves termed the vizier of Sinde, and, next to the principal members of the Talpoor family, must be considered the most important personage under their government. Being himself the head of a powerful Beloche tribe, which contributed in the field to the elevation of the present rulers, he has ever since been their faithful and able servant, and seems to enjoy not only the entire confidence of his masters, but, what is rare indeed in a despotic government, the esteem and respect of the people. He is the adviser of the Ameers in the management of the internal affairs of the state ; and, by his adroitness and mild demeanour, has it often in his power, and seldom loses an opportunity, to avert or mitigate the effects of those shocks of tyranny and oppression which emanate from their durbar.

A sincere regard for the interest of his masters has taught this old and respectable individual the necessity of maintaining a friendly intercourse with the British government ; and it is to his advice I owe not only my visit to Sinde, but the wish of the Ameers to detain me. Wullee Mahommed Khan must have attained the age of seventy ; and it is to be feared, therefore, that death may soon deprive the Ameers of their best servant, and the people of Sinde of their kindest protector. His son, Ahmed Khan, a dissipated young man, about thirty years of age, possesses

none of the virtues of his parent. The
 is a poet of no mean excellence, and al-
 his verses are filled with adulation, it wo-
 unfur to detract from his merits on this acc-
 or to condemn him for following the example
 almost every Persian writer. He has comp-
 also several large folios on the subject of medic-
 gleaned chiefly from the dreams and theories
 the ancients, but which, being supposed origin-
 have gained for him the character of a sage.
 Sinde. Amongst his works, I must not omit to
 mention a small book on the cure of diseases,
 written in the name of Meer Mourad Ali Khan,
 the merit of which is claimed by that prince.
 Meer Ismail Shah is the adviser of the govern-
 ment in his foreign, as Nuwab Wullee Mahom-
 med Khan is in its domestic policy. He is second
 only to the latter in the estimation of the Ameers,
 who, in addition to their religious reverence for
 him as a descendant of the Prophet, entertain an
 exaggerated idea of his judgment and experience.
 He is the son of a Persian who emigrated about
 fifty years ago into Sinde, where he was attached
 to the last Caloras as a state physician, and after
 wards siding with the Talpoors, received em-
 ployment in their service. Ismail Shah is well
 known as the ambassador to Bombay in 1820,
 when it was expected war would be declared be-
 tween the governments. The hospitality he then
 experienced, and the munificence of Mr Elphinstone,
 formed the chief topics of his conversation
 with me, but it is notorious that he is faithless
 to the extreme, and not at all favourably inclined

river, the soil is saline, and grain is less cultivated, but a superior species of grass is produced, besides various sorts of herbage for the pasturage of camels, horses, and oxen, of which last, the number is so great, that even the peasantry possess extensive herds. A traveller may journey for days in the eastern parts of *Sinde* without meeting with a single rock or stone, but iron ore is abundant near *Tatta*, and large quantities of salt are produced on the *Sindian* shores. There are also numerous saltpetre ounds in the country, from which, for many years, excellent gunpowder is said to have been manufactured; and several mineral springs of reputed virtue.

In the same manner that the alluvial plains of *Egypt*, *Bengal*, and *Mesopotamia*, have been formed by deposits from the great rivers which pass through them to the sea, so also has that of *Sinde* been produced by the *Indus*; the sediment suspended in the waters of this river, though in the present day singularly small in quantity, being identical with the superficial formation which constitutes not only the *Delta*, but almost every other part of the country.* It con-

* On this subject, the scientific and intelligent officer, to whom I am indebted for these Geological observations, makes the following remarks:—"But we are not warranted in deciding from the feeble action of deposit at the present day, that such extensive alluvial depositions have been created by rivers in the condition in which they are now observed. The amount of deposit formed by the *Indus* must be very small, as the quantity of mud suspended in its waters is limited; besides, the action of this river is not confined to carrying down mud from the upper to the lower part of its course; for in the branches of the *Delta*, the waters of the river contain much less mud than exist in the

to the British interest. Meer Ismail Shah is a man of respectable appearance and good address, about fifty years of age, has the silly vanity to pretend ignorance of the common language of Sind, and never speaks, or allows himself to be addressed in any other language than Persian. He has been occasionally employed at the court of Cabul, where he informed me he was envoy at the period of Mr. Elphinstone's mission; and he is no doubt thoroughly skilled in the system of intrigue and chicanery, so requisite in an Asiatic cabinet. He has several sons holding important situations under the government, one of whom was lately at Bombay as vakeel, and another is the representative of the Ameers at Shikarpoor. He himself receives a monthly salary of eleven hundred rupees as physician, which is the best paid appointment at Hyderabad, but his prescriptions are little attended to by the Ameers.

A spirit of rivalry may naturally be supposed to exist between the two great officers of Sind durbar; and this is not confined merely to attempts to supplant each other in the favour of their masters, but extends to particulars which would excite a smile among European politicians.

They are envious of each other's fame as men of science, and especially as physicians. Both are proud, and exceedingly vain of their own productions; and without deciding here on their respective merits, on which I always evaded giving an opinion to themselves, I may observe that the Ameers have shown a correct discrimination of character, in awarding to Ismail Shah the emolu-


that it will end like many schemes of the kind related in history, and be at length turned by some fortunate adventurer against themselves or their family; "an event," as Hume says, "which naturally attends the policy of amassing treasures."

Moonshee Khoosheeram is a Hindoo, who receives one hundred rupees per month as chief secretary. He has no influence; and Meer Mourad Ali Khan has been known occasionally to stimulate him to his duty by the gracious epithet of Qoormsak, or scoundrel, in open durbar; but all public letters are written by him, and to him is to be partly attributed the ungracious style of some of these communications; for I observed, that notes sent to me by order of the Ameers, when he was absent, were much more courteously worded than those dictated by himself. However sparing their Highnesses may be of civility in their written communications to others, they are most particular in exacting it for themselves; and, while on this subject, it may be worth mentioning, as a trait of their characters, that I was in the durbar when the letters from the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, announcing the change of government at Bombay, were presented to them by the native agent. Every word in the titles and compliments was carefully weighed and scrutinized; and I was much amused to observe Meer Mourad Ali Khan point out to his brother some expression which he imagined was less respectful in the one signed by Sir John, than in the other.

sists of a foliated marl composed of argile or fine clay, and carbonate of lime, essentially, to which is associated a proportion of mica, in the form of a fine sand. These ingredients vary in their proportions in different districts, but contain generally a considerable admixture of common salt, besides carbonate of soda, and nitre, and it is the presence of these, particularly of the muriate of soda, which constitutes the difference between the soils of Bengal and Sinde, and renders the latter in many places much as those bordering on the Runn, utterly unproductive. Low in the Delta from the vicinity of the ocean, the micaeous particles predominate, and it is to the looseness of this soil, thus naturally produced, that we may attribute the great facility with which the Indus so often, and so suddenly changes its course.

It is difficult to ascertain the depth of the superficial formation but it diminishes as we travel northward, until at Hilaya, twelve miles above Tatta, the subjacent formation appears on the surface, and not only forms the bed, and partly

upper part where the current flows with the greatest rapidity, so that before the waters of the river enter the sea they deposit in some part of the bed all the solid matter, which where the current was rapid they held in suspension. The mud contained in the water of the main stream at Hyderabad I found to amount to 218 per cent. That in the Hujamree branch within six miles of the sea was 0.061 per cent. The quantity of sediment contained in the lower part of the main river Lieutenant Carless informs me is scarcely appreciable, and that supplied by the sea at the mouth of the Hujamree, is not greater than that observed in the ocean water along the Malabar coast near Bombay during dry season. —MSS Report by J. F. Heille, Esq.

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the bank of the river, but is elevated into a chain of sandstone hills, from two to three hundred feet in height, which runs for about thirty miles nearly parallel to the right bank, as far as the village of Raja-jo-got, above the town of Jerk, and performs the important office of preventing frequent changes in the channel. The rock underlying the alluvial soil, which is first seen here, consists of a clayey sandstone, very deeply coloured with iron, and presenting the varied hues of red, green, and white, which mark the description called the variegated, or new red ^{ex} sandstone. Its inferior portion almost partakes of the consistence of clay, but the summit is a hard sandstone, which assumes the horizontal position, imparting to the hills, which it surmounts, a tabular form, while those which have been deprived of it by the action of the atmosphere, and display only the softer material, are usually of a round or conical figure. The rock contains abundance of fossil shells embedded. The superior stratum is perforated by cylindrical cavities, caused by some lithodomus mollusca, and in the lower part were collected the following genera;—*Ostrea*, *Modeola*, *Fusus*, &c.

The calcareous formation is first met with on the left bank, nearly opposite the northern extremity of the range just described, at a village called Tekoor, or Triccul, where it presents itself in the form of a chain of low tabular hills, named the Gunja Jibal, not exceeding eighty feet in height, which no where approach the river nearer than two or three miles. On the western side, at a distance of about fifteen miles, another

range of a similar formation is also to be observed. Both are composed of the same calcareous rock which assumes a cavernous appearance, and understood to belong to the shelly limestone variety, but that to the westward of the river poses a larger proportion of organic remains. On one of the hills, situated at the northern extremity of the range to the eastward, stands the capital of Sindé along with its citadel, at a distance of four miles from the Indus. From this short account of the geology, between Hyderabad and the sea, it will be remarked, that it is to the waters of the river, rather than to the composition of the soil, that Sindé owes its superior productions.

It is scarcely possible that a country, situated on the verge of the tropic, subjected annually to submersion, and the putrid stagnations which succeed the withdrawal of the waters, can be otherwise than unhealthy, and accordingly there are few diseases in the catalogue of human woes that are not to be found in lower Sindé, especially during, and after, the season of the inundation. Fatal epidemics, and frightful pestilences, occasionally devastate the land, while ague, asthma, rheumatism and pulmonary consumption, with the long train of diseases attendant on the combination of heat with corrupt exhalations from the earth, are frequently to be met with. Dropsy and enlargement of the spleen are also common implants, and at certain periods a virulent ophthalmia is likewise prevalent, being produced

by clouds of fine dust with which the atmosphere is impregnated.

Near the sea during the summer months, in consequence of the prevalence of the south-west monsoon, the heat is comparatively moderate, and does not exceed that on the coast of Guzerat; but in Sewistan, and the upper provinces, the temperature probably surpasses that of any part of India,* the thermometer often ranging considerably above a hundred degrees; while the dreadful Simoons or ^{Ex}cess winds, carrying with them myriads of noxious insects, blow night and day without abatement; and render travelling impracticable, or even exposure of the person, dangerous to life. The Delta is subject to heavy dews which are supposed by the natives to be extremely deleterious, and even to occasion premature old age. In the winter season, the climate is so cold that trees are often stripped of their foliage by frost. It has been asserted that rain never falls in Egypt, and seldom in Sinde, but I have practically ascertained the fallacy of both these statements. Some parts of the Delta of the

* “The heat has a degree of intensity near Sehwan, in August, very far exceeding that usually experienced at this season in the Persian Gulf, it is indeed almost insufferable; calms are frequent, and what little breeze we obtain generally blows in light puffs at short intervals from the north-east in the morning, hauling round to the westward at the decline of day; the nights when calm are hot to a degree almost suffocating, and this evening at 10 o'clock the Thermometer stood in my little mat cabin at 104, dead calm. It was not higher than 103 and half in the warmest part of the day, but then there was a light breeze blowing, which tempered the atmosphere.” MSS. Journal of a Voyage to Sehwan in 1837, by A. Whitburn, Esq. I. N.

COURT OF SINDE

Indus are within the influence of the monsoon and although it was out of season, rain descended in torrents when I was at Hyderabad in January 1828, accompanied with a sensation of more piercing cold than I had ever experienced even in Europe

The territory of Sind is thinly peopled in proportion to its means of subsistence, and as many of the inhabitants are erratic, moving their villages according to the rise or fall of the Indus, or wandering from pasture to pasture along with their flocks, while numbers of families, like the boatmen in Holland, have no home except that afforded them by their vessels in the river, it is difficult to form any correct computation of the population. It has been fairly estimated, however, at a million of souls. Of the towns, Shikarpoor contains 25,000 inhabitants, and is the most populous city of Sind, Hyderabad 20,000, Tatta now only 18,000, Khyrpoor and Curachee 15,000 each, Larkhanu 12,000, and Seuwan and Meerpoor each 10,000. The natives of Sind consist of two distinct classes, the military, which generally comprises the Mahommedans, and to which the Beloochees belong, and that which follows trade or agriculture, composed chiefly of doos. If we may credit the information given by Captain Hamilton about the beginning of last year, the proportion of the latter to the Muslims was then ten to one, in which case, the use of "true believers" must have been altogether satisfactory as the government could de-

sire, for the Hindoos are not now more than one-fifth of the community.

The character, peculiarities, and dress of the natives of Sinde, cannot be more powerfully depicted than in the following words of Mr. Crow's unpublished memoir. "They are a strong and hardy race of men, rather more fitted for fatigue than activity, and are mostly tall and dark complexioned. Those who enjoy ease and indulgence are uncommonly corpulent, which perhaps their great use of milk disposed to be. The princes are remarkably broad and fat, and many of the Belooche chiefs, and officers of their court, too large for the dimensions of any European chieftain. As rotundity is so much the distinction of greatness, it is admired as a beauty, and sought as ambition, and prescriptions, therefore, for increasing bulk, are much esteemed. The Sindians, their tempers, are proud, impatient, knavish, mean. Placed between Muckran and Hindoo barbarity on the one side, and of the civilisation on the other, without the virtues of either, their natural faculties are good, and their energy would reward encouragement; but their character is a compound scarcely to be described, and still less to be trusted; and fanaticism, superstition, and despotism are debasing it more every day. There is no zeal but in the propagation of the faith; no spirit but in braving the Eed; no liberality but in feebly giving to the Seyuds; and no taste but in ornamenting tombs."

The Hindoos both the followers of Vishno and Shiva, are low in their caste, ignorant of their religion and lax in their scruples. They eat meat, and drink wine but they are, nevertheless the most industrious and intelligent of the natives. In number with the Mahomedans, they are now about two to three only,* and the knife of circumcision is always unsheathed on every excuse and occasion, to reduce this proportion. Luckput Bunder, a port in Cutch, on the confines of Sindh, has been raised to a state of comparative opulence and commercial prosperity, by the accumulation of Hindoos, who being forcibly made Mahomedans by the Hyderabad court, detesting equally its religion and its persecution, and being disclaimed by their own caste, fled thither for an asylum, in which their common misfortune might be kept in countenance, and some ties of human fellowship still be open to them. The exercise of industry, and the display of talent, provoke oppression instead of receiving reward. The labours of the farmer are seized by the officers of despotism and the ingenuity of the artificer is pressed into its service. Every man therefore finds it a necessary caution to curb, rather than to spur his faculties and a torpid state of the human mind, and neglected condition of the country, are the consequences. Of the manufacturers of Latta, numbers have emigrated to India, and from the mass of the people, large bodies repair

* Mr. Crofts V. Moore was written about 1800

annually to seek foreign service, of whom few return."

"When necessity does not impel to action, the Sindians show their natural sloth. They will sit the whole day and night indulging in smoking and garrulity. Intoxication, through some medium or other, is habitual to all descriptions of persons, and *Bany* or wild hemp, as the most cheap, is the most common. They make spirits both from *jagree* or treacle, and from dates, which they perfume with spice. **C**andy and consume in great quantities, the Hindoos particularly. The Sindians are excessively fond of singing, and have good performers, vocal and instrumental; but they are diminishing with the other marks of the prosperity of the country. Their active diversions are shooting, and clapping with their swords, to prove their temper, and the strength of their own arms. They are good mark-men with their matchlocks, and inimitably dexterous with the bow, and a blunt heavy arrow, which they use for game, and dart in a transverse, instead of a straight direction, so that the body, and not the point of the arrow, strikes the object. With these arrows they take partridges flying, to the right and left, as surely and expeditiously as a European sportsman with a double barrell'd gun. All the princes are, from great practice, incredibly expert, both with their guns and bows. In riding and the use of the sword, the Sindians have no skill, nor have they any exercise peculiar to themselves."

"The dress of the Sindians, like their character, is a compound of foreign habits. Their jackets

and caps are both unseemly imitations, one of the fashions of India, and the other of Persia, the drawers are shaped like those of the Turks. Turbans are occasionally worn, of a monstrous magnitude, and it is since the accession of the present rulers only, that the flowing robe of Hindoostan has been laid aside. The Sindians are uncommonly proud of their hair, in which particular they correspond with their neighbours the Sikhs. It is not orthodox for a Mussulman to keep the hair on his head, but it is too great a favorite here to be sacrificed, and the princes themselves countenance the disobedience by their own practice. A Sindian measures his excellence and comeliness by the length of his beard, and when it becomes white by age, stains it either red or black, an art to which the women also have recourse, to hide the greyness of their locks.

Colonel Pottinger's opinions of the Sindians are even more unfavorable than those of Mr Crow. He states that in the countries bordering on Sind, the term "a Sindian dog" is synonymous with "a treacherous liar," and that the Sindians are avaricious, full of deceit, cruel, ungrateful, and strangers to veracity, but in extension his grown up under a government whose extortion, ignorance, and tyranny are possibly unequalled in the world. Mr Heddle, however, has taken a more charitable view of the nation, in which the following remarks extracted from an official report on the Indus, which is described by the Government of Bombay as a highly in

teresting and valuable paper. "The people of Sindé," said he, "have been much decried, but the charge has been too indiscriminately brought forward against the whole population. The large mass of the indigenous population is particularly industrious, whether in the occupation of agriculture or manufactures. The merchants of Sindé are active and intelligent, well protected, though heavily taxed, by the government, but not so much so as to prevent foreign traders from leaving their native country to reside under the rule of the Ameers. Compared to any state between the Indus and Euphrates, Sindé may be pronounced a country considerably advanced in civilization; the government, though severe, is vigilant and well ordered; too sensible of its own interests to ruin either the commerce or agriculture of the country. The people are orderly and obedient, and the laws are respected. Such at least is the impression which I have formed on these subjects during a residence in the country, too short to allow me to expect that much confidence can be placed in my opinions on questions of such a nature."

The language of the Court of Sindé is Persian, but written very inelegantly, and pronounced with many corruptions, apparently in a Hindoostanee idiom, although I did not meet with a single individual at Hyderabad who could converse in the *lingua franca* of India. The dewans, or Hindoo sectaries of Government, keep their accounts and records also in a sort of mutilated Persian, notwithstanding that a written language, peculiar

to their tribe, exists among the lower classes the community. This is the Sindee, which is a strange mixture of Hindee, Pushtoo, and Punjbee, exceedingly difficult for a foreigner to acquire. The Beloches amongst themselves speak a dialect of their own, which is a medley of Persian, Arabic, Affghanee, and Sanscrit, brought together with so many variations in the different tribes, that the epistolary correspondence of one clan is often unintelligible to another.*

The most numerous of the brute creation in Sindh, are the oxen in the lower Delta, which are of a small but powerful breed, well adapted to labour. They supply food to such classes of the inhabitants as eat flesh, and larger quantities also are exported annually to India. In seasons of famine, when the periodical rains have failed for two or three monsoons successively, the mor-

* "The Persian language is cultivated at the Durbar, and taught at the public schools, and Meer Futteh Ali Khan with characteristic inflation and ignorance, concerning himself the Rustum of the age and the exploits of the Talpoones worthy of transmission to posterity, has employed a poet, a Sindian of more presumption than learning to record them in verse like Ferdosi, and I called the book in rival distinction to his immortal work the Shah Nameh, the Futteh Nameh. With the same vanity he has lately directed the loves of a Belooche pair, as related in some of the country tales, to be translated into Persian verse, upon the model of Jami's Eusuph and Zuleika, that the diffusion of these poems may establish the fame of Sindh as well in letters as in arms. The Futteh Nameh is rehearsed in durbar, and many of the courtiers mark their adulation, by committing the most fulsome passages to memory. Whenever the prince moves abroad he is preceded by a poet, who proclaims his praise in loud and hyperbolic strain, and the prince does not blush, occasionally, to intimate him by a command to raise his voice. —CROW

talities amongst them is immense. By far the most useful quadrupeds, however, for domestic purposes, are the camels, more properly dromedaries, (*camelus dromedarius*), already mentioned, which from prince to peasant are in universal request. Half immersed in mud, and supplied with fresh water only once a week, these patient servants of man attain a remarkable maturity on the furze and stunted saline shrubs of the Delta, and, when full grown, perform almost incredible journeys under the heaviest burdens, finding forage in places where others less sturdily reared would inevitably perish. They are frequently inured to the saddle, being easily guided by a small cord or bridle passed through a perforation in the nostril, and even equal horses in speed, with this great advantage, that they can travel much longer, and are capable of carrying two persons with all their necessary equipment. Sometimes also they are used in harness, and are often met bearing large *tukht-i-ruwans*, or mounted palanquins, containing ladies on their travels. The drawwells and mills are worked chiefly by them, and in time of war swivels are secured upon their backs, and used to a great extent as field artillery. The average price of a good riding camel is ninety rupees of Tatta currency, which is twenty five per cent. less than that of Bombay, but a strong baggage dromedary may be purchased for half that amount.

The breed of horses in Sind, in consequence of the preference given to the camel as an animal of conveyance, has been much neglected,

no exertions having been made to improve it by judicious crosses, or to render it equal to that of the neighbouring countries of Cutch and Kattiwar, which have been long celebrated in India for the studs they contain. The common Sindian horse is a species of umbling poney used chiefly by the lower classes but represented to be extremely hardy, patient of toil and easy to the rider, whose attention to the cleanliness and comfort of his trusty steed however is far from proverbial. The manes of many of the horses are long, and the tails of most are allowed to sweep the ground, a considerate indulgence in a country where insects are innumerable. Nothing horrified the Ameer more than the circumstance of my horses being curtailed, or to use a Newmarket expression, *docked*, not only of their fair proportions but of the chief protection which nature had bestowed upon them against stinging torments and many of the people evidently believed that they were of a new species born without tails being unable to comprehend upon what principle beings so much superior to themselves should mutilate one of the noblest of God's creatures.

Large numbers of foreign horses, chiefly of the Turkistan and Khorassan breeds are brought annually from Cabul and Candahar to Cutch and Bombay, where they are bought by the agents of the British Government, and as they all take the route through Sind, and can be procured at a very cheap rate, it might be imagined that the British soldiers, many of whom are

at any rate their chief would be well mounted. There are no fine horses of any sort however to be seen, except in the stables of the Ameers, who every year purchase some of the best from the dealers as they pass, and who, besides having excellent studs, all keep an immense number of dogs of a fierce and powerful description, most of which are also imported from the upper provinces. I saw several large and handsome mules in Sindé, and conceiving that it might be an object to government to get them ^{for} the use of the artillery from that country ~~Instead of~~ from the more distant ports in the Persian Gulf, I made inquiries regarding them, but am afraid they could not for the present be procured at a less rate, or more easily, than by the arrangement which at present exists. Asses, much larger than those of India, are to be met with in Sindé.*

The country contains no beast of prey except wolves and jackals, which are sometimes so ravenous as to attack the wayfarer, but as may be supposed from the extent of the preserves, game is very plentiful. The wild boar roams through every brake; the magnificent black partridge, (*perdrix Cambayensis*) is in almost every bush; and while

* It may be important also to know that mules, possessing fully all the qualities which render this animal so useful, are bred in Sindé, where the ass attains the developement which it is known to enjoy only within a very limited geographical distribution. These animals, at present, from the circumstance of there being only a limited number bred, are high priced, but if they ever become an article of commerce, the Isle of France may derive the supply from Sindé, for which it is now tributary to the distant Brazil.
—Mr. Heddlé's MS. RECOLT.

multitudes of antelopes scour the plain, the lake and marshes are studded with wild duck, and every description of water fowl. Poultry and the domestic animals are in ample store, and besides the oxen, there are large herds of buffaloes, and flocks of goats and sheep the latter of which, the "Doombas" resemble the well known and remarkable breed of Southern Africa. Water snakes are common in the river, but very few of the venomous species are to be met with in the fields.

The Indus teems with fish, which is a principal article of food amongst many of the inhabitants, and a profitable source of revenue to the Ameers, by whom fisheries have been established, and whose myrmidons seize a third part of the produce of every net. During the four months that precede the freshes, the palwah or sable fish (clupeanodon), which is said not to inhabit any of the other rivers of Western India, is abundant. It is large and bony, somewhat resembling in taste a combination of fresh herring and salmon, and is in great estimation, both amongst the natives and strangers. The other usual species of fish are the More (*Cyprinus morar*) full of bones, and of a reddish hue the shakilar, less bony, with a large broad head, and more palatable, the thelee (*cyprinus*) a tasteless fish, about twelve inches long and ten deep, the mully or jerkh, of a species of *Silurus*, which is six or eight feet long, with a head resembling a dog's, very coarse, and said, when eaten to produce cutaneous diseases, and the kuttaree (a species of *Pimeloda*.)

which is about two feet long, and has fleshy antennæ like those of the lobster over its mouth. The bombul or eel of a large size, and the porpoise nearly allied to, if not identical with, the *Deplimus* of the Ganges, described by Dr. Roxburgh, are likewise common.

Otters and Badgers also infest the banks of the Indus, and are destroyed for their skins, which fetch high prices in the Punjab: towards the sea alligators* exist in large numbers, and are much respected not only by the Hindoos, but even by many of the Mahommedans. Mr. Crow mentions as the tutelar god of Curachee, in his day, a scaly monster with a train of females and dependants, nourished in the muddy rivulets which flow from the hot springs near that seaport, adding, that it is singular to see these animals sometimes dozing close to the mouth of the springs where the water is almost boiling hot, and sometimes wallowing in pools which are perfectly cold; and Lieutenant T. G. Carless of the Indian Navy, who visited the same scene so lately as December 1837, gives the following striking description of an alligator's banquet, which he there witnessed: 'The swamp,' says he, 'was not more than one hundred and fifteen yards long by about eighty broad, and in this confined space, I counted above two hundred large ones, from eighteen to fifteen feet long; those of a small size were innumerable. The appearance of the place altogether, with its green slimy, stagnant waters, and these

* The alligator, or rather crocodile, of the Indus is the "*Gavialis Gangetica*."

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a piece at the same time, and hit and surprised
 and rolled over each other until almost extermin-
 ed with the desperate efforts they made to carry
 it off. It was curious to stand by, and see from
 a mass of these unwieldy monsters almost at your
 feet, fighting and tearing each other for their
 food. The natives number them at one thousand
 and the amount is by no means exaggerated, for
 every rivulet teems with them.

The flesh of the alligator is esteemed a great
 delicacy by some of the river inhabitants of India
 and the destruction of this animal affords an ex-
 cellent sport to the hunting part of the people.

tion. The shikarees are often to be seen squatted on platforms fixed on posts, slightly elevated above the stream, awaiting their game, and armed with a sword and heavy matchlock. As a decoy, each is provided with a young alligator, attached to his arm by a cord ten or twelve yards in length, to which occasionally they throw pieces of fish; and the peculiar cry the little animal utters in devouring his food, has generally the effect of attracting to the spot a large assemblage of his kindred, many members of which fall victims to the contents of the gun. If they approach near enough, are even destroyed by the sword. In cases where the alligator is only wounded, the shikaree will not hesitate to plunge into the water, and attack him with the latter weapon, in his own element; nor is there an instance on record of any human being having suffered in this apparently very dangerous mode of warfare, although, as Mr. Whitburn informs us, the alligators of the Indus are of a size scarcely to be credited. Their comparative innocuousness of these monsters, attributed by the natives, to the very ample supply of food furnished them by the fish of the river, which renders a search for other prey altogether unnecessary.* In this respect, they are very different from the alligators of South Africa, described in Captain W. C. Harris' journal, recently published; and which, not content with destroying his favorite dog, quitted their w

* Mr. Whitburn's MS. Journal.

homes to devour his waggon furniture, and the shoes of his followers *

Among the vegetable productions of the earth in Sindh, there are none peculiar to the country. In those parts subject to the inundation, rice, as has been already stated, grows in great abundance; and in the districts where irrigation is practicable, large quantities of wheat, barley, juwaree, (*holcus saccharatus*), indian corn, sugar cane, tobacco, with bajaree, (*holcus spicatus*), and moong, (*phaseolus mungo*), are also produced. Cotton is likewise cultivated in a few places, and also indigo, which forms one of the chief dyes of the country. The following articles, which are considered in considerable demand, are not produced in Sindh, but food are scarce, and the following articles, (*convolvulus*), are not produced by the people; but there are in the markets, at proper seasons, a moderate supply of mangoes, figs, mulberries, bheers, (*ziziphus jujuba*), jamboos, (*genesia jambolana*), cucumbers, and water melons, with an inferior description of dates, gourds, (*cucurbita laganaria*), and cocoanuts. Apples produced in the country of a small size and paltry appearance are also sold in the bazars of Tatta in April and May, where four hundred of them may be purchased for a rupee; and large quantities of delicious grapes, carefully packed in small boxes with cotton, are annually obtained from Cabul, from whence also apples and pears, similar to

* Narrative of an Expedition into Southern Africa, by Captain W. C. Harris, of the Bombay Engineers, 1832.

those of England, are procured. The Ameers presented to me a large rosy-checked apple, the first produce of a garden in Candahar, which had been sent to them by express; and it will perhaps excite the surprise of my readers at home, when I add that I considered it so precious, as well as curious, it being the first I had seen for seven years, that I enclosed it in a tin case, and dispatched it on a further journey to a friend in India.

Wood for fuel,* well adapted for steam purposes, is abundant, but notwithstanding the immense tracts of jungle, there are no forest trees in Sindh, and all the boats on the Indus, as well as the beams of houses, are accordingly constructed of timber imported from Malabar. The babool, (*mimosæ, Arabica et farnesiana*) peloo,

* "One of the varieties of wood from the creeks, the "Tewur," (*Sonneratia apetula*) was found, in the steamer, to answer better for the purpose of fuel, as a substitute for coal, than any other kind which we tried, and indeed so well, that for river navigation, in which a vessel must always come to at sunset, this kind of fuel does not appear inferior to coal. The supply, it is important to notice, will be found inexhaustible; for the localities which produce these shrubs are very extensive, and enormous supplies have been drawn from the coasts of Sindh, perhaps for centuries, without any sensible diminution. Further, the desertion of the whole north-west parts of the Delta by the fresh water of the Indus, tends to increase the domains occupied by these plants, which consist principally of the following species: the "Tewur," (before mentioned) the "Chawur," (*Aegiceras Majus*) and two species of *Khandel Rhizophor*; these kinds are common to the shores of India. This fact is the more important, as wood is scarce in all other parts of Sindh, and the babool, which is one of the most common, as well as the best adapted for the purposes required for fuel by steamers, would furnish only a limited supply."—Mr. Heddle's MS. Report.

(*salvadora persica*) and the lye, or tamarisk (*tamarix indica*) grow almost every where, but can scarcely be dignified as trees, although some of them attain great dimensions in the upper provinces. The banian tree (*ficus indica*) is also to be seen occasionally. In the uncultivated regions, those which cluster round the pools of brackish water, are principally sickly specimens of the peepul, (*ficus religiosa*) and the neem (*melia azadirachta*), while the vegetation of the desert is almost entirely confined to the thorny milk bush (*euphorbia antiquorum*), the swallow wort (*asclepias gigantea*), the juwansee of Ainslie, (*hydnarum alhagi*), the kureel (*caparis*), and the shrubs of the tamarisk. Amongst the furze and brush wood in the Delta, there is a plant very prevalent, remarked by Captain Del'Hoste, and termed by the natives darun or lanah, which is the chief luxury of the camel. At a distance, it resembles English heath, but on closer inspection, is found to possess a purple stalk, bearing a bitter saline sort of berry, nearly as large as a grape. In enumerating the vegetable productions, the panna grass,* (*typha elephantina*), with its long sword like leaf, and strong tortuous roots, should

* "The natives of the district where this plant grows are well aware of the services rendered by it, for in collecting the leaves, which they manufacture into matting, they cut the plant close to the soil but do not disturb the roots the use of which they appreciate. The dried leaves from their cellular structure contain much air, and this property is taken advantage of by the natives, who tie them into bundles which serve as bladders to support them in swimming the rivers they are likewise used as by the fishermen. — Mr Heddle's MS Report.

not be forgotten, for, as Mr. Heddle correctly observes, its services in some districts are of the utmost importance, by endowing the banks of the Indus with a degree of firmness which prevents the perpetual falling in, that forms so inconvenient a feature in many portions of the river's edge.*

With so many other points of similitude to Egypt, Sindh is singularly deficient in monuments of architectural art, either of ancient or modern date. The ~~of~~ castle of Sehwan, the erection of which is attributed to Alexander the Great, is perhaps the only veritable relict of the age of the Greeks which can be traced,† and coins have been lately found in it, which, when submitted to the careful inspection of Mr. Prinsep, will probably attest its high antiquity. It is a mound of earth, nearly eighty feet in height, by fifteen hundred long, and eight hundred broad,

* "Honey should be mentioned as one of the natural productions of the low strip of the Hojranee: it is produced by bees, which feed on, and attach their combs to the ranklime shrubs which I have mentioned, particularly the *Aegilops*: the honey is much superior to any procurable in the west of India, being solid, perfectly crystallised, white, and well flavoured. No particular care is taken in rearing the bees."—Mr. Heddle's MS. Report.

† "After the subjugation of one, and the death of the other of their chiefs, (Oxyeanus and Sambas,) the Macedonian hero returned to the river, and, as we are informed, built a citadel at a commanding and commanding point; from which particular notice, I have no scruple in saying, that it must have been at the present Sehwan, that fortress being seated on a high hill that overlooks the ferries across the Indus and Larkhanu rivers, and otherwise admirably situated to awe the surrounding tracts."—Perrisera's *Belochistan*.

intersected with subterraneous passages.* Of the ancient city of Alore, once the capital of a mighty empire, extending from Cashmere to the peninsula of India, scarcely a trace remains. It was situated nearly in the parallel of the present town of Bukkur, a remarkable fortress erected on a rocky island in the Indus, fifteen miles to the northward of Khyrpoor, and was abandoned so early as the second century of the Hejira, in consequence of its being forsaken by the river, which before that period flowed under its walls, several miles to the eastward of the present channel. From a similar cause, the ancient cities of Debal Sindy, which occupied a site between Curachee and Tatta, and of Braminabad, or Kullan Kote, which was near the latter place, were also deserted, although at what date, it is difficult to surmise, leaving scarcely a wreck behind. At Shahkapor, a populous village in the vicinity of

mished heads; this was no less than excavating a subterraneous passage from hence to Mecca. In one of the clefts of the hill a deep cavern exists, which doubtless first gave rise to this story. The

Meerpoor, are still to be seen the remains of an extensive fort and city, said to have been the residence of Dahooda Rai, the last of the Soomra Princes, who flourished about the year one thousand and three hundred of our era. The bricks which form part of these ruins are of large dimensions, measuring twenty inches by eight. Captain Del'Hoste also mentions some substantial remains of masonry in the river at Jerk, about twenty-five miles below Hyderabad, which he conjectures to be connected with Alexander's voyage. I have never heard of any ancient inscriptions having been found in Sinde.

With the exception of the Jumma Musjid, or great Mahommedan temple for the assemblage of "true believers" at Tatta, and the tombs of the Caloras and Talpoors at the capital, there are no modern edifices indicating taste or durability, in Sinde. The former was erected so late as the reign either of Shah Jehan, or of Aurungzebe, and by one of these sovereigns; but it is already a gloomy dilapidated building, in which "the moping owl doth to the bat complain." Such of the royal tombs as belonged to the Caloras are crumbling gradually to decay; and were it not for the feeble exertions of a few hoary servants of the fallen house, who still flit about these mementoes of bygone days, to strew flowers upon the graves of the mighty dead, they would soon be overgrown with grass, and utterly destroyed. An old man who appeared the guardian of the mausoleums of Meean Gholam Shah, and Meean Gholam Nubbee, both of which are large and

elegant buildings, in the Moorish style, insisted on my taking off my shoes before I entered them, and complained that they had been despoiled of the marble with which they had been faced, by the connivance of the Ameers, who were desirous of obliterating all recollections of the Caloras. I had no opportunity of visiting the shrine of the famous Lal Shah Baz, the Saint Januarius of Sind, whose mausoleum is at Sehwan, where his memory is adored with all the fervent fanaticism



the stand on the hill. This hill, in shape somewhat semicircular, is eighty feet high, and one and a half miles long, by seven hundred yards broad, its convex side fronting the river. The line of its direction is north by east, and south by west. Hyderabad occupies its south end, the tombs the north. The tombs of the deceased members of the reigning family are grouped at a distance from those of the Caloras. The only handsome one of the Talpoors is that of Meer Kurr Ali, display characterized this prince in life,—and he has carried his love of pomp to the grave. The edifice is chaste and handsome,—its figure a square, capped with a fine cupola,—and the heaviness of the whole is much relieved by a tower in each angle. The tombs of the Talpoors are kept in excellent repair,—those of the Caloras are entirely disregarded. The mausoleum of Gholam Shah Calora is really a beautiful structure. Its figure is a large massive quadrangle, within, the marble is the purest, and the design and execution most chaste. This best specimen of the arts in the capital of Sind is sadly neglected, and fast falling to decay. Gholam Shah Calora must have been a powerful sovereign, the magnitude of a tomb is no bad criterion for future ages to judge of a sovereign's power.—MS Journal of Lieut Woon, 1 N 1835 36

"The Mausoleum of Meer Kurr Ali was attended by Seyyids and handsomely finished there which, degree would

have shown

that characterizes the nation ; and I shall accordingly introduce here a description of it, abridged from the manuscript journal of Mr. Alfred Whitburn of the Indian Navy, who made a voyage up the Indus so late as August 1837.

“ The vicinity of Schwan,” says this officer, “ abounds with numerous mosques and tombs which are kept in good repair ; the exteriors of some having an elegant appearance from the elaborate carved work, and the coloured tiles, with which they are decorated. The mausoleum of the great Lal Shah Baz surpasses all the rest in magnificence. From its appearance without, I wished to inspect the interior, and found there was, on the score of different faiths, no obstacle : but the liberality of the late Embassy had given the sakeers such an idea of riches possessed by all Englishmen, that I found it was impossible to satisfy my curiosity without presenting a donation which I could ill afford, and I accordingly dispatched the moonshee to obtain an account of it. He describes it as a perfect square surrounded by a verandah, the outer surface being curiously inlaid with bricks of different colours. The entrance to the interior is by means of a door of precious wood, plated over with beaten silver, and the portico is profusely adorned with carving and enamel. The shrine is situated at one end, and is devoid of the ornamental embellishment which distinguishes the outside. The tomb is overhung by a canopy of cloth of gold, supported on twelve slender pillars covered with silver corresponding with that on the door. Every Friday, the dra-

from the authorities; and consequently, the domestic buildings in Sind are entirely destitute of elegance and substantiality. Even in places beyond the reach of the inundation, or such as Sehwan, where, in consequence of the vicinity of a chain of mountains, termed the Lukkee, stone is abundant, respectable dwellings are seldom or never to be found. Those of the city of Tatta are the most striking in their appearance, both from their loftiness and dimensions; but their composition is merely wood and wickerwork, plastered with earth and cow-dung, coloured so as to imitate stone; while the houses of Hyderabad, Meerpoor, and all the other towns, are insignificant flat roofed erections of mud mixed with chaff, rarely two stories in height, with very few windows, and irregularly arranged in narrow dirty lanes scarcely deserving the name of streets. The Tandas, or hottelries, of the Belochie chiefs at the capital are usually a number of small buildings grouped together in a court-yard, surrounded by a mud wall and surmounted by a bare pole or flag staff, the latter being apparently an emblem of rank, which they enjoy in common with the fakeers.

It has been stated that the revenues of Sind have become much deteriorated during the reign of the present rulers, and nothing can be a more striking memorial of the perseverance with which they have pursued their gross and barbarous policy of ruining the country to enrich and gratify themselves, than the fact, that, even including the amount collected within the principalities

Meerpoor and Khairpoor which were formerly to their chiefs the sum of five and an half lakhs of rupees, the Ameeers estimate it at only one and a half lakhs, and the state does not exceed that amount. The Ameeers collect the revenue chiefly from the farmers in kind, in the proportion, it is said, of three fanns of the produce, and the grain thus obtained they either retail to their subjects at a small profit or force upon the dealers at a price fixed by themselves. One cannot but remark the former custom between this system, and that later established in Egypt by Mahommmed Ali Pasha, whose policy, however, it would be injustice to liken to that of the Ameeers in any other respect. The Pasha's money is often liberally bestowed in great public improvements, while that collected by the Talpoors is invariably either converted into jewels, or deposited in some of the secure treasuries of the family, where it is withdrawn entirely from circulation. With the consent of the Ameeer in fact, no specie has ever quitted Sind, for even in the days when they were obliged to pay tribute to the king of Cabul, they contrived to convert that distant sovereign with a great portion of it in the manufactures of Tatta, which they first obtained cheap, and then transferred to his Majesty at a false and exorbitant valuation. The actual revenue of Sind is of course greater than what has been mentioned, several large domains having been alienated from the state for remote ages to support the Seyyids, and religious esta-

blishments, while many of the Beloehe magnates possess property, and enjoy immunities in reward for their services to the reigning dynasty.

As the state religion of Sinde is taken from the Koran, so the system of Jurisprudence is derived from the same source, and when exercised between two subjects of the more favoured creed, would appear to be pretty fairly administered by the Kaze (Cadi); but, as this functionary can listen to no complaints against the government, and holds his situation only by the sufferance of the Ameers, it will be evident, that he can be no check on their Highnesses, though privileged by his code to be so. The administration of justice costs little or nothing to the state; and although I have never heard of criminals being punished capitally, merely to save the expense of their maintenance as under some Hindoo governments, yet it is not unusual to see prisoners, attended by their guards, begging for subsistence in the public streets.* I have in another place given a specimen of the manner in which justice is dispensed to the Hindoos, who for the most part

* "While at Sehwan, I noticed a very economical method pursued by the Ameers in disposing of their prisoners. I met a man with his right foot inserted in one end of a heavy piece of wood, about three feet long, while at the other extremity a rope was made fast, which he held in his hand. When the unfortunate wretch desired to walk, he was obliged, by means of the line, to lift the log at every step he took. He was preceded by a government sipahi, who, with a bag pendent from his neck, solicited charity for the culprit from the passers by: half the produce received by this novel proceeding he retained for himself, and the other was appropriate to the maintenance of the prisoner."—Mr. WHITBURN'S MS. Journal.

prudently settle their differences among themselves by punchacts, or arbitration, without a reference to the ruling authorities. The Beloches seem generally to take the law into their own hands, and to act on the simple principle of retaliation; nor do the Ameer often interfere with them, except where individual disputes extend to whole tribes, when they are obliged to settle matters by force of conciliation. A serious quarrel of this sort took place, from a most trifling cause, while I was at Hyderabad, and called for the mediation of their Highnesses, who sent for the contending parties to the durbar in my presence, and with much flattery and address, obtained a promise from each to desist.

It is a proof of the unwillingness, or perhaps inability of the Sindian court, to settle the feuds of the Beloché chiefs, even in cases where it might be supposed that there were strong induc-

— **ANDER CUKUR**, one of whose nautch women, or dancing girls, he had seduced. The unfortunate female was of course instantly put to death without remorse; while her paramour betook himself to Lahore; but nothing could soothe the wounded pride, and insulted honour of a

... Indians families proceeding in a body to his house to implore pardon for the offender, and to offer themselves as an atonement

for his crime. After this public exposure, than which nothing could be more degrading in a Mahomedan country, Bahadoor Khan extended the hand of forgiveness, but retained for his harem one of Ahmed Khan's sisters, who has never since been heard of.*

If we can believe the description given of Tatta, when Nadir Shah visited it about the middle of last century, the commerce and manufactures of Sinde must have sadly dwindled away.† Historians relate, that besides immense wealth in jewels and goods, that celebrated conqueror found in the city no less than forty thousand weavers of calico and loongees, or silk embroidered cloths, besides artisans of other descriptions, to the number of twenty thousand, exclusive of the bankers, grain-dealers, and shopkeepers, who were estimated at sixty thousand. The whole population of the place does not now exceed sixteen or eighteen thousand souls, most of whom are in the lowest state of poverty; nor can a loongee of any value be obtained in the bazar, without having been

* Captain DelHoste's MS. Journal.

† It would appear, from the following extract from Tavernier's Travels, written about a century before Nadir Shah visited Sinde, that the commerce of Tatta had even much fallen off in his days, which he attributed to the faithlessness of the Indus. I quote, from an Italian edition published at Bologna in 1690, and, strange to say, given to me by the Ameers of Sinde, whose servants had taken it from an unfortunate native of Rome, who passed through Hyderabad in 1827. "Or'il commercio di Tatta, che già fu grande, o molto calato, perche l'imboccatura del fiume sempre va peggiorando, di modo che la rena ammuccchiandosi ne chiude quasi che ill passo."—*Viaggi da Gio; Battista Tavernier, Barone d' Aubonne, Parte Seconda, Cap. II.*

expressly ordered beforehand, and the price advanced. We cannot attribute this deterioration altogether to the Ameers during the dissensions between the rival families, many of the merchants forsook Sindh, and settled in India, nor must we shut our eyes to the fact, that the revolution produced in Indian society by ourselves, could not but hasten the downfall of a city like Tatta, whose luxurious manufactures were supported chiefly by a not so great number of merchants.



few native, as well as foreign workmen at Hyderabad, where the various kinds of arms, such as spears, matchlocks, and shields, used by the humbler classes, are also chiefly manufactured. Sindh has long been famous for embossed and embroidered leather work, in the form of ornamented gloves, boots, cartouch boxes, &c., and there is yet a manufactory at Sehwan, where carpets, nearly of the same fine material, and equally bright in colour with those of Persia, are occasionally fabricated for the use of the Ameers, few others being able to purchase them. The Sindians are also famous for their

work,

of the -

bling, with which their mosques and tombs are decorated.

The exports from Sindh, or home produce, are saltpetre salt, rice, cotton, ghee, oil, oil seed, sharks fins, bark for tanning, alkali, calico, and

felts; and from the kingdoms and provinces to the northward, they bring, chiefly for exportation, assafoetida, saffron, leather, hides, madder, musk, alumi, drugs of various kinds, Cashmere shawls, dried fruit, diamond, lapis lazuli, turquoises, and other precious stones, bedellium, and gums. The imports from India are iron, tin, steel, lead, copper, broadcloth, glass, chinaware, cocoa-nuts, indigo, areca-nuts, muslin, gold-cloth, velvet, silk, satin, sewing silk, thread, shields, &c. &c. From Khorassan, Persia and Arabia, the Sindians have, for home consumption, swords, silk, carpets, dates, rosewater, conserves, tobacco, coffee, and kullyans.* The horses and fresh fruits from Cabul and Candahar have already been mentioned, and it may be added, that large quantities of Malwa opium, intended for the China market, are conveyed on camels, by Jessulmere, through Sinde, to be shipped at Curachee for Damaun, the traders in that drug, strange to say, continuing still to prefer a circuitous route through the territories of the Ameers, by whom considerable transit duties are exacted, to the more direct one afforded by our dominions. Although the present miserable poverty of the people of Sinde forbids the hope of mercantile interchanges to any extent with them; yet the natural advantages of the country for commerce need scarcely be pointed out: security to trade and property is alone required to render the Indus the medium of introducing our manufactures among vast nations,

* Pottinger's Belochistan.

which, occupying climates resembling that of our native land, would gladly welcome the products of British industry, and offer to the speculations of our ingenious and enterprising countrymen ample encouragement and reward.

In no respect were my expectations more disappointed than in the military force of Sind. Having lived for sometime in Cutch, amid frequent rumours of attack and invasion, I had, in common with most others in that province, im-

... of *beroules*, who are kept to garrison the fortress, the armed retainers of the Ameers are few in number, and contemptible in appearance. Several of the chiefs of the tribes, however, most of whom hold their lands on military tenure, reside constantly at court, and are able to collect, in the course of a few days, by some means resembling the fiery cross used by our own forefathers, their various followers, who at other times are employed in agriculture, and different peaceable occupations. In this manner, it is said, the government can assemble about forty thousand men, to whom, while in active service, I find by Captain Seton's Report, that it allows a pice each *per diem*: but I presume this must be either a mistake, or a regulation of former times, as I heard of horsemen being entertained at the respectable salaries of thirty rupees *per mensem*. The Sindians have abundance of artillery, consisting chiefly of purchases or pre-

sents from the English during their ancient connection with Mekan Gholam Shah Calora, and of guns obtained from the Portuguese and Dutch, but they would require the assistance of expert Europeans before they could be available. A case might be supposed in which the whole Mahomedan population would rise *en masse* ; but as patriotism is unknown in this quarter of the globe, nothing except a fiery zeal for religion, fanned into a flame by some designing enthusiast, is ever likely to produce such a result.

Though the iron rod of the Ameers has repressed the daring spirit of the military classes of their subjects, and the general tranquillity of the province has left their energies to slumber for a while, they may yet be considered as a body of marauders ready to take arms for any cause which will afford them support, or which offers a prospect of plunder. Like hungry vultures, they would almost seem to "scent the battle from afar;" for the train of dissension is no sooner lighted, than war becomes their universal cry, and it is incredible in how short a period they flock to their rendezvous. Meer Sobdar's late insurrection was settled in the course of a few days, but not until twenty or thirty thousand volunteers had joined the different standards, and numbers were crowding in hourly when the adjustment took place. In the field the Sindian soldier has no discipline; and as his pay is generally contemptible, and frequently uncertain, he conceives himself fully privileged to supply his wants at the expense of the villages on his march. He

is acknowledged to be brave and hardy and as a hired soldier in the East may probably rank next to the Arab, but his reputation is far higher in his own country than any where else. His vanity and gasconading are proverbial from the General down to his meanest follower in the camp every man makes his own past and intended exploits, or those of his ancestors, the constant theme of his conversation and contemplation, and it is remarkable with what patience they listen to the empty vauntings of one another. The army of the Ameers, when collected, presents a motly and ill accounted assemblage of mercenaries from all quarters, and it is composed chiefly of adventurers who have descended from the mountains of Belochistan, to one of the tribes of which, that of Hind, the reigning house traces its origin.

The Ameers are, I believe, perfectly aware of the utter hopelessness of any defence they could make, in the event of an invasion by our Government. Many circumstances proved to me that "the name of our name linked with success," and the feeling not to be wounded at, which pervades the eastern world generally, of it being "the will of God" that had a certain period we shall prove our valour and all our enterprises we have not failed to execute. Their great power is to be seen in their armies and fortifications. It is an attempt to overcome the power of the enemy which has not yet led to a decisive result. As the training and discipline of the army is to be improved, it is to be seen in the future.

impress strangers with an exaggerated estimation of their dignity and importance. Like many men in private life, who contrive for a time to cloak their ignorance under a formal manner and distant deportment, they well know that a closer inspection would infallibly expose their weaknesses; and hence arises their jealousy of our acquiring a nearer or more intimate knowledge of their country or of themselves.

Such flimsy pretences could never blind an individual who has visited Sind, and witnessed the true state of affairs. Of the few walled towns in the province, all are contemptible, and scarcely one deserves the name of a fortress. The fortifications of Curachee are mean and insignificant. Omerkote, the repository of the wealth of the court, which has so long been supposed unassailable from the report of its being environed by a sandy desert of great extent where no water is procurable, has been ascertained, by late inquiries, to be within a few miles of a branch of the Indus, and utterly untenable. The city of Hyderabad, as already described, is a collection of wretched low mud hovels, as destitute of the means of defence, as they are of external elegance, or internal comfort; and even the boasted stronghold of the Ameers, which surmounts their capital, is but a paltry erection of ill burnt bricks, crumbling gradually to decay, and perfectly incapable of withstanding for an hour the attack of regular troops.*

* "The fortifications of Hyderabad consist of a high wall and a high citadel, upon which some very heavy guns are planted. The wall is thin, but supported inside by a great depth of earth,

The nobility would, in all probability, and, as is usual with Asiatics, desert their masters in the time of trouble, and although I have no doubt the Talpoor chiefs would themselves, on a hostile invasion, bravely perish in defence of their sovereignty and treasures, it is scarcely possible to conceive a more easy, or as far as the people generally are concerned, a more willing conquest, were our victorious arms turned in that direction, than Sindé would prove, unassisted by any of the countries in the neighbourhood

Were such an event to happen, as happen in all probability it will, from causes as uncontrollable as those which have led to the already mighty extension of our empire, there is no district which would better repay the fostering care of a mild and enlightened management than Sindé. The

free institutions and a benignant rule, the other

partly original and partly piled up, which would make a breach difficult. The citadel is entirely brick work, but very thick, and the figure perfectly circular, of not more than one hundred yards diameter. There is a dry ditch round one side of the fort, and low ground on the other. The circumference of the wall may be three quarters of a mile, it has few embrasures, and command

might glory in the acquisition of a valuable and productive addition to its dominions. Agriculture and commerce, which are now languid from ignorance and taxation, would gradually revive and flourish under the new and better order of things; and the local advantages of the province, combined with security to property and impartial justice, would invite settlers from other countries, whose families would recruit the lost population, and whose energies, unfettered by religious bigotry or military despotism, would have full scope, encouragement, and reward. Then the river Indus, might once more become the channel of communication and of wealth, between the interior of Asia and the peninsula of India; while Sind herself, equally interesting to us from classic association, and from sympathy with her present sufferings, would rise renewed to claim a due importance in the scale of nations, and to profit by the benefits which nature has bestowed upon her.

By the beginning of January, Meer Mourad Ali's health had been perfectly re-established, but still the Ameers showed no disposition whatever to consent to my leaving Hyderabad, and I ascertained, what I had previously suspected, that they wished to detain me altogether. Mourad Ali Khan had once or twice asked me whether I had any objection to remain with them; and although I had always evaded his questions by explaining that I was a servant of the government, without whose permission I could do nothing, he had often reverted to the subject, and had requested

my opinion whether Sir John Malcolm would agree to my returning, even should I leave Hyderabad for the present. Wullee Mahommed Khan now informed me that he had recommended the Ameers to make the proposal at once to government, and although they were evidently unwilling to gain their object in this manner, I was privately apprised that some circumstances had occurred, which induced them to protract my departure as long as possible.

About the end of December two vakeels arrived from Shah Shuja Dool Moolk, the exiled king of Cabul, and the pensioner of our government at Ludiana, loaded with presents to the Ameers, and making a demand that the district of Shikarpoor should be restored to his Majesty, who proposed proceeding there in person to collect followers, with a view to regaining his lost empire. The king's proposal was accompanied by a threat, privately intimated through Meer Ismail Shah, that if the Ameers did not immediately accede to his request, it was his intention to transfer his undoubted sovereignty over Sinde to his faithful allies the British, who, he declared, were preparing to assist him with troops and money in his ambitious enterprises.

The whole message appeared to me from the first an empty bravado on the part of the fallen monarch, but the Ameers, although they had courage enough to reject at once the proposal, felt by no means easy at the appalling intimation which accompanied it, and which conjured up, no doubt, to their recollection

wide near the sea. After passing the lake, he made three days journey† along the coast, ordering wells to be dug as he went. Geographers have differed about his entering Cutch; but supposing he landed near Narraensir, and marched, as Dr. Vincent calculates, sixty miles, he must have reached

the mouth of the river, all of which may be said in consequence to be classic ground. The situation of Xylenopolis,† as laid down in the maps of ancient geography, is nearer that of the modern town of Luckput than Narraensir: and if we are to believe that Alexander landed there,

* Arrian's description of the lake would apply to the Rann, flooded as it was when Alexander sailed down the river. "When he had sailed down the left branch, and was now near the mouth thereof, he came to a certain lake formed by the river, spreading wide over a flat country, or by additional streams flowing in from the adjacent parts, and making it appear like a bay in the sea."—1, vi c. 20

† "Then going on shore with a party of horse, he travelled three days along the sea coast to view it, and try if he could find any bays or creeks."—1, vi c. 21

‡ Xylene
term certain

and still performed a march of sixty miles, he could not have proceeded further than Jackow. It is barely possible that Pattala, instead of occupying the site of the present Tatta, and the ruins in the neighbourhood, may have been situated where the modern town of Jerk is placed, and, in that case, Alexander might have navigated the Pinyaree branch, which passes by Bunna, Laiqpoor, Meerpoor, and Mugrbhee, and which being a large river in August and September, would also have conveyed him to the Luckput estuary. The Residency Moonshee informs me that within the last twenty-six years, he and his family embarked at Tatta, and ascending the main river, sailed down by this identical branch to Cotasir in the Luckput creek.

These speculations rest entirely, however, on the supposition that the Indus is now nearly the same as it was in the days of the Greek expedition, than which nothing can be more uncertain; and they are hazarded, not only from the natural desire which, in common with every educated individual who visits Sinde, I entertain to illustrate the history of its classic river, but also in the hope that they may be useful to some future traveller. I felt a strong desire to collect a number of facts regarding the Indus; and during my stay in Sinde, as well as since my return, I have examined several natives on the subject; but all I can gather from them are accounts of its inconstancy, and of the many and sudden changes it has undergone, even in the short period of their personal experience. A very intelligent

young native known as whom I saw in the
meadow I was told that he had been
year, it was said to be a very good
river side. The old people of the
a perfect representation of the old
with the same old procedure of the
stream in the old days. The old
the branch of the old stream in the
end of the old stream. The old
a few days before the old stream
average of the old stream. The old
and the old stream. The old
travels to the old stream. The old
in mouth. The old stream
marked for the old stream. The old
usually a field of the old stream
unlike land was the old stream
enough to be the old stream
a goodly hill in the

The foregoing observations are made in connection with the above mentioned facts and are intended to show that the same are not inconsistent with the facts and circumstances of the case.

dissertation also of the late Captain M'Murdo, who devoted several years to the investigation of the subject, and which was first published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1834, has, I conceive, established satisfactorily from authentic sources, that the main stream of the Indus, up to the desertion, in our seventh century, of the great city of Alore, which was situated on its bank, was the branch described as quitting the present river above Bukkur, and penetrating through the desert by Omerkote, but which having been dam-

any others are used ; its course is excessively crooked, and, towards the sea, very inconstant. By a strange turn that the river has taken, within these five and twenty years, just above Tatta, that city is flung out of the angle of the inferior Delta, in which it formerly stood, on the main land towards the hills of Belochistan. By another change Shah Bunder is left dry, and the Lahory Bunder branch so much more favoured by the stream, that it is perfectly fresh now at a point, where, a few years ago, it was salt even at low water ; this point is near the Bunder of Lahory. Marks of the caprice of the river abound in the lower country, the most striking of which are the bed of a large stream now perfectly dry, about five miles from Curachee, and about five miles further, at a place called Giussary, a creek which opens from the sea, and is still navigable, for at least fifty miles, when it shallows, and leaves only a dry channel, where it is said to have been formerly met by the river, from traces still evident, and the fact is confirmed by the ruins of a city said to be the ancient Tatta or Debal Sindy : on the eastern bank of this creek, about forty miles from its mouth, there are the ruins of another, it is said still more ancient, Tatta or Debal Sindy, in the heart of the Delta, which, upon examination, would most probably prove to have been abandoned from the faithlessness of a branch of the river, which had at first perhaps invited its founders. This is probably the case with Brahminabad, called by the natives Kulan-kote, the ruins of which lie four or five miles to the south-west of Tatta, and the inhabitants have a distinct tradition, which appearance confirms, of the river running close under the walls of that town. The only mouth of the Indus now open to Dingies is the one leading to Lahory bunder."—Crow.

med up for many ages by an embankment placed across a valley near its commencement, still termed the Alore bund, now conveys scarcely any water except during the floods, although, in many portions of its course, it yet presents a dry channel of great breadth, and retains the name of the "Puran," or ancient river. Even in modern times, however, as has been already stated, and before the erection of more recent embankments in the lower part of its course, this stream entered the Luckput creek at all seasons, and it is a remarkable fact, that on a partial destruction of the Alore bund, an immense volume of water forced its way through its channel to the ocean, by Luckput, so lately as 1826.

These facts render it not improbable, that as the Indus rolled its waters to the sea, by a channel many miles to the eastward of its present course, the Luckput estuary may have been the great western mouth first navigated by the Greeks, particularly as it nearly corresponds with the enlargement of the embouchure described by Arrian*. In this view of the case, Cutch must have been the Pattalene, while the eastern branch of the Indus may have flowed into the gulf of Cutch, between that country and Guzerat, a conjecture not unsupported by tradition, which speaks of ancient seaports on the Runn, and of large quantities of grain having been produced by fresh

* "The stream appeared
"An exaggeration
r 1

water on its borders. Another Pattala would require to be sought for than Tatta, the site of which, it would appear from Mahommedan historians, was scarcely peopled, and utterly unproductive at the time of the Arab conquest, and even until the change in the course of the river had supplied that part of Sinde with water; but it is useless to indulge in surmises, and were any thing wanting to prove the utter futility of speculating on such a subject, it is the fact, that the great western branch, below Tatta, the Mehran of Rennell, which was described to be the main river, when I visited Tatta in January 1828, was scarcely knee-deep at the same season three years afterwards, and not in existence at all when Mr. Heddle was collecting materials for his report to Government, in the beginning of 1836.*

In a preceding paragraph, I have alluded to the moderate means possessed by the Ameers for repelling an invasion of their territory; and a single glance at the Indus will show the easy passage into the very heart of their dominions, which that river offers to a maritime power. The state-barge, which conveyed me to Sita, although flat-bottomed, was, in my opinion, capable of transporting really half a regiment; and during the voyage we met with others equally capacious.

* The modern appellation by the natives of the western branch is "Bagaaur," which signifies "to destroy;" though such is the confusion of names in Sinde, that that designation was given to me as synonymous with "Sita," or "Sata," which indicates the eastern branch.

I am ignorant of naval tactics; but I have no doubt that armed steam-boats of small burden might act with peculiar efficacy; and although the shoals and currents in the stream might at first appear an impediment, war would scarcely be declared before the decks of our vessels were crowded with volunteers, well acquainted with the navigation, and ready to contribute their utmost efforts for the subversion of the present government. On the Sita I was again met by Hader Khan Lagharee, by whom I was conducted through a productive country to Mughree from thence, through the tract I have mentioned in the commencement of my narrative to Bunder, which I reached on the 25th January.

I had scarcely put my foot on the Cutch, when a letter from the Resident at the 18th January, authorising me to proceed to Sinde, pending a reference to Government, was delivered to me; together with a letter from General Leighton, which kindly written me from the proceedings of the court and that my evidence was not an hour in apprising the Government of the information, and again to return to Hyderabad: more than thirty miles from the Sobdar's rebellion, the country, I determined to write my letters. I was in a wretched halting

of battles and murder, till the 13th, when I received a message, through the agent, from the Ameers, entreating me not to venture forward in the present state of affairs: and, accordingly, I deemed it prudent to fall back to Luckput, where I shortly after received the orders of the Honourable the Governor in Council to return to Bhooj.

On learning that Government had no wish to effect the establishment of a resident officer in Sindé, I thought it proper to give the native agent at Hyderabad to understand, that it was likely I should be employed in a particular duty, which would preclude the possibility of my fulfilling my promise of revisiting the Ameers. This was, no doubt, explained perfectly to their satisfaction, as their Highnesses have carried on a constant correspondence with me ever since I left them. Their letters are of the most friendly description, and evidently show a wish on their part to maintain a good understanding with me; nor should I conceal, that I believe it is even yet in my power to induce them again to invite me to their court, and to consent to my permanent residence in their capital.

In conclusion, I must lay claim to indulgence for the many imperfections which, I am sensible, may be discovered in this narrative; imperfections which I earnestly hope will rather be attributed to the difficulties I have encountered in drawing it up, than to any neglect or indifference on my part. I cannot but remark also, that, like all persons who undertake to write personal narratives of their proceedings, I have too often been

obliged to speak of myself and conduct, in terms which a fastidious or, probably, a very correct feeling, might condemn, but, in extenuation, I can only say, that I have been actuated by a sincere desire to represent things as they really are nor can I excuse myself of having entered more fully into my transactions with the Ameers, than was absolutely necessary to exhibit their characters and manners in a proper light. That much has been suppressed which it might have been gratifying to record may be seen on reference to the letters which the native agent in Sindé addressed to the resident in Cutch, during my stay at Hyderabad, and which have fallen into my hands since my return to Bhooj.

POSTSCRIPT — August 1839 — Since the completion of the foregoing narrative, an event worthy of record has occurred in Sindé, and fully realised the anticipations expressed in the preceding pages. Meer Kurn Ali Khan died of fever in December 1828, leaving Meer Mourad Ali Khan, now the only surviving of the four brothers who established the Talpoor dynasty, the sole and undisputed sovereign of the country, with a greater degree of power vested in his single person, than was ever previously shared by the family. The deceased chief is much lamented by his dependants, to whom he endeared himself by kindness and liberality, and his death will no doubt

cause a considerable revolution in the appearance of the court, the style and dignity of which were supported principally at his cost.

Among the stipulations by which Meer Sobdar's rebellion, in February 1828, was settled, there was a promise sacredly given on the Koran by Meer Kurm Ali Khan, that he would adopt that prince as his heir; but Sobdar Khan, whose weak character is known, sunk into his former insignificance soon after the reconciliation was concluded, and tamely permitted those who had taken the field in his cause to incur the vengeance and cruelty of the chief Ameers. It will not excite surprise, therefore, that on the demise of his uncle, he wanted spirit to claim the treasures to which he was entitled: accordingly, Meer Mourad Ali first contrived, under some pretence, that they should be left in deposit with his late brother's wives, and latterly he has appropriated them entirely to himself. The territorial possessions of Meer Kurm Ali Khan, with the exception of small estates granted to the young Ameers, have also devolved into the hands of the present ruler, under whose vigorous sway Sindh is likely, for some time at least, to enjoy undisturbed tranquillity.

SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF CUTCH.

Kattiwar, &c. in 1812, deprived Cutch of half its inhabitants. The oppressive nature of the government during the reigns of the Raos Lacca, Gore, and Rahiden, and the constant wars which were carried on by Futteh Mahommed, added much to the evil; while, latterly, a succession of unfavourable seasons has forced many of the Ryots to migrate into Sinde, or to seek for subsistence in other countries.

The natives of Cutch are stronger, stouter, and even handsomer, than those of Western India in general; and some of them, particularly the Rajpoots, bear marks of a superior and military caste. The women of the higher classes are generally considered good-looking. To a casual spectator, the whole population appears sunk in ignorance and apathy, but closer observation shows that this is not the case. The Ryots are found to be intelligent to a degree that is surprising; and the ingenuity of the workmen is justly celebrated. The palace at Mandavie, and the tomb of Rao Lacca at Bhooj, are beautiful specimens of their skill in architecture; while the gold and silver ornaments manufactured in Cutch, and so well known and highly prized by Europeans, display a taste and nicety of hand, unequalled by any Asiatic nation, except the Chinese. There is scarcely any piece of mechanism which, by proper explanation and superintendence, may not be imitated by the goldsmiths and carpenters at Bhooj; and I have known one of their gun-locks passed for an English one, and firmly believed to be so.

I do not believe that the natives of Cutch are

more immoral than those of Hindoostan in general. If they are found so, it should be remembered that they are not the only ones of the kind.

of an unjust, cruel, and oppressive government, which continued so late as the year 1819. They are, for the most part, peaceable and well affected to their rulers, and are not inclined to revolt.

The use of opium is universal in the country, and in these the Cutchee finds a solace for every distress of mind or of body. Whether at home or abroad, the hookah is his constant companion. He has recourse to it at every moment of leisure, and I have myself travelled with horsemen in the service of his Highness the Rao, who, although they kept their horses at a smart pace, contrived to smoke all the while. In every species of native society in Cutch, the influence of opium is apparent. The character of the people has even acquired a dull and phlegmatic cast from its effects, though it must be remarked, that these bear no proportion to the immense quantity of the drug that is used. With the exception of an unwillingness on the part of the opium eaters to exert themselves, which probably arises partly from natural laziness the use of opium does not appear to destroy

the Jharajah chief of Roha, who has been

famous in the history of Cutch for the last sixty years, has, during the whole of his life, indulged freely in opium, and has suffered so little from its debilitating effects, that he was last year detected in ambitious projects against the government, and banished to his own castle in consequence. He is now at the age of eighty, paralyzed by years, but his mind is unimpaired. This case is not a singular one; and, on investigation, I am convinced it will be found in general, that the natives do not suffer much from the use of opium. No doubt, however, East Indian opium is less deleterious in its effects than that which is produced in Turkey.

It is generally taken in small cups rubbed up with water, and the quantities that are swallowed would almost exceed belief. Its stimulating effects are sometimes very apparent. On one occasion, I had made a very fatiguing night march with a Cutchee horseman. In the morning, after having travelled about thirty miles, I was obliged to assent to his proposal of halting for a few minutes, which he employed in sharing a quantity of about two drachms of opium between himself and his jaded horse. The effect of the dose was soon evident on both; for the horse finished a journey of forty miles with great apparent facility, and the rider absolutely became more active and intelligent.

With the exception of the Jharejah Rajpoots, the Hindoos of Cutch do not differ from those of other parts of India. The Jharejahs are the aristocracy of the country, and are all more or

less connected with the family of the Rao. They trace their descent from Laccā Goraro, a prince who reigned in Sindē a thousand years ago, four of whose sons, Moor, Oner, Phool, and Munyabhee, emigrated into Cutch, on account of some family dissensions. The two last had no issue. The posterity of Moor ended in the third generation at Laccā Phoolnee, whose name is still known and celebrated throughout this province. From Oner descended the present Jam of Nuwunuggur, and the Rappoot Jharejahs of Cutch. Hooerjee, one of his descendants four hundred years ago, had four sons, Khenjar, Rhyebjee, Dayebjee, and Aleyjee. From the first of these the Rao is lineally descended, and all the present Jharejahs, with a few exceptions, who claim still higher birth, derive their origin from the other three.*

There are about two hundred and fifty Jharejah chiefs in Cutch. All of them hold their lands in feu from the Rao, as their liege lord, for services they or their ancestors have performed, or for relationship to his family. They are termed the Bhyrud, or brotherhood of the Rao, and are his hereditary advisers. On any male child being born in his Highness's family, a portion of the

* Men of the Desert who only know there was a sky earth water, and fire.—MS. Observations by James Bird, Esq. F. G. S. 1839.

royal domains is allotted to him and his successors. The same principle is carried into effect in the families of the nobles, whose lands are subdivided for the benefit of their relations, who are called the Bhyaud of the chief. It is evident, that this system would soon reduce the whole property into an immense number of small portions ; but the barbarity of their customs has afforded a check to this in the inhuman practice of infanticide. This, it is known, is not uncommon among the Rajpoots of India. The Jharejahs of Cutch trace the custom to Jarrah, one of the posterity of Oner, above-mentioned, from whom they derive their name, and who first showed the example, by putting to death seven of his daughters, some hundred years ago. His descendants, it is to be feared, have not confined their practice to females only.

The humanity of the British government since the period of its connexion with Cutch, has been much exerted in trying to check this horrid custom ; but the prejudices which lead to it are so firmly rooted, and the interest of the Rajpoot families is so much identified in its continuance, that I have no doubt it is still secretly carried on in the private recesses of the Jharejah's forts, where it is impossible to watch them. Indeed, the returns furnished to the Bhooj durbar show such an immense disproportion between their male and female children, that the fact can scarcely be disputed. The infants, it is said, are usually put to death by opium applied to the breast of the mother, or are drowned in milk.

The Jharejals intermarry with the families of other Ryypoos, but as they are all descended from a common ancestor, they consider it incestuous to unite themselves with the women of their own tribe, and to this unfortunate regulation of their caste may be attributed in a great degree their adherence to *infanticide*. Nuns and vestals meet with no respect in Indian society, indeed, it is a disgrace to a woman and her relations if she is not married and settled with her husband at an age which would be considered childhood in England. No respectable matches can be found in Cutch or the neighbouring countries for the Jharejah females, and the consequence unhappily is, that their preservation only leads to *shame* and *prostitution*.

This is an evil arising from a state of society which the hand of Omnipotence alone can suddenly improve, though it is to be hoped, that, by the continuance of our rule, and the gradual dissemination of enlightened opinions, it will eventually cease. No government can do more than ours has done to suppress *infanticide*, and the treaty of 1819 with Cutch, is a proof of the extraordinary sacrifices which have been made to gain this object. By a provision in that document, we engaged separately to protect the possessions of all the Jharejah chiefs, on their consenting to preserve their female children, thus entering into a treaty not only with the prince of the country, but also with two or three hundred of his nobles and thereby cementing an alliance from which, however detrimental to our interests,

of ruinous to our finances, we can never be relaxed. It is needless almost to add, that infanticide, when perpetrated, is practised so secretly as to defy all detection. As a proof of the pride and cruelty of the Cutch Rajpoots, I may here mention, that at the battle of Jarrak in 1762, they massacred all their women and children, amounting to several thousands, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Sindians.*

The Marajabs have a tradition that, when they first entered Cutch, they were Mahomedans, but that two hundred years afterwards, when the whole power of the country was in their hands, they resumed the name and customs of the Hindoos; and they have been considered Rajpoots ever since. In a religion which admits of no proselytes, this is astonishing; but the story seems well supported by circumstances. They still retain many Mahomedan customs; they take oaths equally on the Koran and Shastras; and they refer sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other on subjects of law and morality. They employ Musselman cooks, and eat from their hands, and, to crown all, his Highness the Rao, when he appears in public, alternately worships God in a Hindoo pagoda and a Mahomedan mosque. Rao Laccra erected a temple at Bhooj to the memory of a famous saint of Bagdad, the Peeran Peer, about the middle of last century, and his descendant, Rao Dessul, in person, lays his oblations at the shrine generally every Fri-

* The subject of this article has been fully illustrated by Sir Alexander Burnes in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1834.

day, which is the Mahomedan day of prayer. The Bhooj durbar fits out a ship annually at Mandwic to convey pilgrims to Mecca, who are fed and supported during the voyage by the liberality of the Rao, and, although this is without doubt a remnant of the Mogul sway, and was, I believe, the tenure by which the sovereigns of Cutch held their dominions from the Delhi emperors, the fact of its being still maintained is a proof, with the others, of the anomalous opinions which the Jharejahs entertain on the subject of religion. The royal Family of Cutch have never objected to form matrimonial alliances with Mahomedans when the match was suitable, or when a political object was to be gained. Rao Gore gave one of his female relations in marriage to Meean Surufraz Khan, a prince of the house of Calora in Sindh, and more lately Kesser Bhye, the sister of Rao Bharmuljee, was united to the Nawaub of Joonaghur.

The Mahomedans of Cutch are of the same degenerate caste as is to be found throughout the western side of India. The only class particularly worthy of notice, as being peculiar in habits and customs, is the Meeanahs, who have of late attracted attention by their plunders and depredations. The Meeanahs claim the same descent as the Jharejahs, and boast, that, while the latter became apostates to the Mahomedan creed, they remained steady in the faith. Be this as it may, they have lost all the honour and respectability of the Ryypoos, a name, from its immemorial, a body of ara

ready on all occasions to take advantage of the troubles of the state to commit their outrages.

It may excite surprise that during so many centuries these plunderers should have been permitted to remain as a scourge to Cutch; but the question is solved when we find, that, though always injurious to the people, they were frequently useful to the government, under whose standard, at the season of exaction and oppression, they generally ranged themselves, and from which, even they have at various times received grants of land. As an instance of their services, it may be mentioned, that the immense army of the Nawaub of Ahmedabad, which invaded Cutch in 1718, was forced to evacuate it, chiefly from all its supplies being cut off by the Meeanahs.

The vigour of Futteh Mahommed's government required less assistance from outlaws, and as their depredations had arisen to a height formerly unknown, at the confused period at which his power commenced, one of his first measures was to endeavour to extirpate them from Cutch. In this he nearly succeeded; but of late years, several of them returned, and lived in villages among the hills, peculiar to themselves, where they obtained a scanty subsistence by cultivating the fields. The unfortunate seasons of 1823 and 1824 forced many of them to emigrate into Sind, where, uniting with other adventurers, they formed themselves into bands, and made forays into Cutch, several of the villages of which they burned and plundered.

The reappearance of plenty in 1825 has brought

back many of them to their fields, which the lenity of government now allows them to retain unmolested, while the others have either fixed their residence in Sinde, awaiting a favourable opportunity to renew their incursions, or have paid the penalty of their offences against the durbar. The bold and determined manner in which most of the latter have met their fate at the place of execution is worthy almost of antiquity, and certainly of a better cause. One of their chiefs, named Ogmiah, was captured by a detachment of our troops in a skirmish in April last, and was shortly after blown from the mouth of a cannon, according to the usual custom of capital punishment in Cutch. Though emaciated with confinement and the pain of his wounds, he stepped forward to meet death in this appalling shape, with his spirit undaunted, and after seeing some of his companions blown to atoms, resolutely walked up to the instrument of his destruction, to which he declined to be tied, and placing his body to the muzzle, demanded permission to be his own executioner. The remnant of these "Children of the Mist" still retain all the predatory customs and habits of their forefathers, their daring courage and their adroitness rendering them a constant object of dread to the peaceful villager, while the confidence of the habitants of Cutch is ruined.

British troops still guard the frontier

POSTSCRIPT.—The above account was written in 1826, when Cutch was suffering from the depredations of these plunderers. Since then, a succession of good seasons, and a steady and improved system of administration, have altered the aspect of affairs, and the Meeanahs are now seldom heard of. In 1827, the Bhooj durbar published a general pardon for all their past offences ; a measure as politic as it was merciful, and which was attended by the happy effect of bringing back nearly all those who had remained in Sinde, while lately the arrangements entered into between our government and the Ameers, have left the territories of Cutch no longer a place of refuge for discontented traitors.

SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF CUTCH

SECTION I

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF CUTCH BEFORE THE BRITISH CONNEXION

ABOUT the ninth century of the Christian era, a body of supposed Moosulmans* of the Summa tribe emigrated from Sind, and, under the guidance of five brothers, settled in Cutch, of which

* "Extraordinary as the fact may appear, it is stated in the Cutch annals, that these Summas were originally Mahomedans. Much doubt hangs over the early history of the Jharejahs, but they are generally understood to be a branch of the Jadoo Rajpoots, (children of the moon) descendants of Krishud, who settled finally in the desert on the shore of Indus, under the appellation of Bhuttees and Sumaichas. The Bhuttees are well known as the Rajpoots of Jessulmeer, and there can be little reasonable doubt, but that the Sumaicha branch having from

Summa Summas of Sind are doubtless the old Rajpoot stock."—MS Notes by Captal Deputy Quarter-Master General, 1838

by degrees they acquired the complete sovereignty; having either by force or fraud expelled, or subjected to their authority, the aboriginal inhabitants, consisting of three distinct classes, Wagellas, Katties, and Wagum Chowras. Four or five generations after their settlement, the descendants of the five brothers assumed the name of Jharejah, derived from a leader of the tribe named Jharrah, who set his descendants the example of female infanticide, by putting to death his seven daughters in one day.

Cutch continued tranquil under their sway for many years, until the murder of Humeerjee, the chief of the elder branch of the tribe, by another Jharejah, named Jam Rawul. Khengarjee, the son of Humeerjee, on the death of his father, fled to Ahmedabad to seek the assistance of the viceroy, who had married his sister; and this being readily granted, a force was sent into Cutch to reinstate him, as chief of the tribe, in his rights, which had been usurped by the murderer of his father. On the approach of the viceroy's army, Jam Rawul fled with his adherents to Kattiwar, and founded the town of Nuwanuggur, which is possessed by his descendants at the present day; and Khengarjee assumed the sovereignty of Cutch and Moorvee in Kattiwar, with the title of Rao or Rawul, A. D. 1549.

From the time of Khengarjee until that of Rahiden, A. D. 1666, the succession continued according to the law of primogeniture. Pragjee, the third son of the latter prince, murdered his elder brother, Jewajee, and the second brother,

Nongaljee, having died in the interim, Pragjee, on the death of his father in 1698, ascended the musnud, to the prejudice of his nephews, Kianjee, the son of Jewajec, and Kallajee, the son of Nongaljee. To the former he retained the
Moor retain

took possession of the principal towns in that district, where his descendants have ever since possessed the chief influence. Pragjee was succeeded, in the year 1716, by his son, Goregee, a brave and enterprising prince, who had distinguished himself by his courage and conduct during the lifetime of his father, but whose reign is not marked by any occurrence of note: he was succeeded by his son, Rao Daisul.

Rao Daisul ascended the throne, A. D. 1719. At no period was Cutch so respectable as during his rule. He not only repelled four armies despatched from Ahmedabad by the emperor's deputy, to enforce the payment of tribute, but sent his troops across the frontier, and established military posts in Sinda, Parkhur, and Okhamundel, by which steps he checked the predatory horse from the two former quarters, and piracy at the latter. He also took possession of various towns and villages along the southern coast of the Gulf of Cutch, to which he laid claim on account of his relationship to the Rajah of Moorvee; and, notwithstanding all these expensive exertions, exclusive of many improvements he carried on in his own territories, he died at an advanced age, leaving a treasury well stocked

by degrees they acquired the complete sovereignty; having either by force or fraud expelled, or subjected to their authority, the aboriginal inhabitants, consisting of three distinct classes, Wagallas, Katties, and Wagum Chowras. Four or five generations after their settlement, the descendants of the five brothers assumed the name of Jharejah, derived from a leader of the tribe named Jharrah, who set his descendants the example of female infanticide, by putting to death his seven daughters in one day.

Cutch continued tranquil under their sway for many years, until the murder of Humeerjee, the chief of the elder branch of the tribe, by another Jharejah, named Jam Rawul. Khengarjee, the son of Humeerjee, on the death of his father, fled to Ahmedabad to seek the assistance of the viceroy, who had married his sister; and this being readily granted, a force was sent into Cutch to reinstate him, as chief of the tribe, in his rights, which had been usurped by the murderer of his father. On the approach of the viceroy's army, Jam Rawul fled with his adherents to Kattiwar, and founded the town of Nuwanuggur, which is possessed by his descendants at the present day; and Khengarjee assumed the sovereignty of Cutch and Moorvee in Kattiwar, with the title of Rao or Rawul, A. D. 1549.

From the time of Khengarjee until that of Rahiden, A. D. 1666, the succession continued according to the law of primogeniture. Pragjee, the third son of the latter prince, murdered his elder brother, Jewajee, and the second brother,

Nongajee, having died in the interim, Pragjee, on the death of his father in 1698, ascended the musnud, to the prejudice of his nephews, Kianjee, the son of Jewajee, and Kallajee, the son of Non-

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with money. The latter ten years of his life were embittered by the unkindness of his son, the Prince Lacca, who threw him into confinement, and also had his celebrated minister, Sett Deokurn, assassinated.

Lacca assumed the supreme authority about the year 1745. The character and forms of the durbar were entirely changed by the luxurious and extravagant splendour that were introduced during his reign, which lasted about ten years after the decease of his father. The advanced posts placed by Rao Daisul in Parkhur and Sindé were driven out; and his son, afterwards Rao Gore, rose in open rebellion against him. Either two or three ministers were put to death during this reign. Poonjah Sett, the son of the celebrated Deokurn Sett, minister of Rao Daisul, was disgraced and dismissed; and the Prince Gore retired to, and resided at, Moondra for the last seven years of his father's life. Forces were frequently sent against him, but were invariably unsuccessful; and although none of the neighbouring powers attempted to invade Cutch in Rao Lacca's time, and his whole strength was therefore disposable, yet it was in vain exerted to subdue the rebellion, headed by his own son, in the very heart of his dominions. He also made an abortive attack on the town and fort of Terah in the Abbrassa, the patrimony of Soomrajee Jharejah, in which he was beaten off, and obliged to return to his capital discomfited.

On the death of Rao Lacca, his only legitimate son, in 1760, Gore, was unanimously acknow-

ledged, although his father had tried to secure the accession for one of his numerous illegitimate children. Poonjah Sett, as soon as he heard of Rao Lucca's death, hastened to Bhooj, in the expectation of being made minister, but he was treated with undisguised contempt and hostility, and hearing that a plot had been formed to assassinate him, he fled to Sind, and the situation he had aspired to was filled by a distant relative of his own called Jeewun Sett. Cutch was invaded no less than four times by the Sindians during this reign, and on each of these occasions, the country was desolated and plundered, although the invaders did not succeed in forming a permanent settlement. Two of the invasions were headed by Gholam Shah Calora in person, and two of them by his son Meean Surufraz Khan. The former wished to compel the Rao to give a

was glad, on his second invasion, to content himself with the daughter of the chief of Khauker, whose family stood next in pretensions to the throne

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for

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engaged mercenaries from

Poonjah Sett, (who first instigated Gholam Shah to the attack, but afterwards repented, and per-

suaded him to return to Hyderabad,) it seems from all accounts probable that the Cutch government would then have been subverted. When the Sindians retired, Poonjah Sett was made minister; but soon after the Rao presented him with his own hand with a bowl of poison, and ordered him to drink it in his presence, merely because he had recommended an adherence to the articles of the treaty. His son Deojee Sett accepted the office of minister about three years subsequent to this, and likewise met an untimely fate by poison.

On quitting Cutch, Gholam Shah left a garrison of 5000 men at Luckput Bunder, which was then a petty town. He also proceeded to build an embankment to prevent the waters of the Indus from falling into the sea through the eastern branch of that river, which passes close to Luckput; and by this unjustifiable act he converted a fertile plain, which yielded from rice cultivation a revenue of eight lacs of cories annually to the Bhooj durbar, into a dreary salt marsh. When Gholam Shah died, his son Surufraz Khan recalled his troops from Luckput, but, as before stated, he twice after this entered Cutch with a considerable force, and devastated a great part of the country before he quitted it.

The garrisons on the part of Cutch in Balumba, and other places, on the northern coast of Kattiwar, were expelled by the dependants of the Jam about this time; and, instead of resenting these injuries, or at least attempting it, the Rao gave up his whole time and thoughts to the most

unheard of cruelty and sensuality. He kept a body of negroes about his person, who allowed no one but the partakers of his disgusting and depraved orgies to approach him. At length the ladies of the durbar prevailed on some of the principal officers to confine the Rao, and while he was under this temporary restraint, the whole of the negroes were either put to death, or fled to the adjacent countries. The Rao was so much irritated, that, on being released, he proceeded to Mandavie in disgust, and there occupied himself in building a fine palace, which, however, he never completely finished.

After stating these facts, it is almost superfluous to say, that Rao Gore was a cruel and blood thirsty tyrant. Exclusively of the preceding instances already detailed, he killed with his own hand his brother Bhishappa, solely because he discovered that he had sided with the favour of a female who had been seduced by him, and it is estimated that he had caused the death of a great number of persons, and that he had been the cause of the destruction of a great number of villages. He was also the cause of the death of a great number of persons, and that he had been the cause of the destruction of a great number of villages.

It is also to be observed, that the Rao was a very cruel and blood thirsty tyrant, and that he was the cause of the death of a great number of persons, and that he had been the cause of the destruction of a great number of villages.

from his infancy to hear of and see scenes of bloodshed and vice; and he quickly afforded proof that he was a most apt scholar in such matters, and needed not the dying exhortations of his father to revenge his mother's infidelity on the tribe (Lohana), to which her paramour belonged. He very soon replaced the negroes who had been turned out or destroyed some years before; and with their assistance he put to death in one day the minister Dewichund, together with his three brothers, and above two hundred of their followers.

A Banian minister was next set up under the auspices of a negro jemidar, named Mecraj; but these ill-assorted authorities soon quarrelled. Parties arranged themselves on each side; and whilst the Rao was indulged in the inner apartments with a few companions in deeds of abandoned lust and profligacy, the palace was daily deluged with the blood of those who were contending for his favour. Some of the most desperate of the negroes were banished, and others put out of the way by poison, which, it is even asserted, the Rao himself mixed with their food, to rid himself of their continual importunities; but those who remained of this class had influence enough to obtain the Rao's order to destroy the Banian, which was done without delay in the public durbar.

On hearing of these proceedings, many of the district officers affected to consider themselves freed from all allegiance to Bhooj. Mandavie, however, and some other important places, con-

tinued obedient to the Rao, who having recently adopted the Musulman religion, resolved to force his subjects to follow his example, which he determined to do by destroying all the Hindoo temples and images. This mad project he first tried at Mandana, whether he had gone for the express purpose, but the Brahmins and Bamins, who on, opposed their mode of

trigra^u on themselves. The Rao, to let them clearly comprehend how careless he was of such denunciations, drew his sword and wounded five or six of them before his attendants could seize his hand.

to oppose the miscreants who had gladly hastened to carry the Rao's orders into execution. In the meantime, the Rao was himself in great danger from the exasperated feelings of the inhabitants, who attacked him and his escort, and obliged them to make a rapid retreat to Bhooy, where, as a compensation for the disappointment he had met with, and the opposition offered to him at Mandavie, he adopted the plan of moving about the streets habited as a fukeer, and accompanied by a body of his negroes, who put every man whom they met to death, unless he was able and willing to repeat the Mahomedan creed.

It now became notorious that the Rao was de-

* Trigra^u consists in sacrifice of the number that his blood may rest on the head of the oppressor.

ranged; and after two or three attempts to place him under restraint, in which measure his brother Bhyjee Bawa and the ladies of the palace concurred, he was seized by a body of troops which had been secretly called in from Anjar. In one of the various unsuccessful attempts made to secure his person, which he constantly baffled through the vigilance and ferocity of his negroes, the then minister Kotaree Waga, and above three hundred people, were destroyed in cold blood in one of the palace yards, by the Rao and his desperate associates. From this time the Rao was lodged in confinement; but his brother Bhyjee Bawa being too young to assume the direction of affairs, the government was conducted by twelve commanders of mercenary troops, who appear to have been all Mahommedans, and who were guided by the authority of Dhosul Vain, the principal member of their body.

Among these leaders was Futteh Mahommed, a native of Sinde. This person appears to have been endowed with capacity and courage. Finding the government of Dhosul Vain at once weak and odious, he successfully intrigued with the troops, with the ministers by whom the civil business of the government was still conducted, and with some of the Jharejahs; until, in the year 1792, he was enabled to expel Dhosul Vain and his colleagues, and to transfer the reins of government into his own hands. He conducted the affairs of Cutch with firmness and ability for ten years, until Bhyjee Bawa, in whose name he administered the government, became of age, and

began to feel the hardship of his exclusion from the regency. Hunsry and the other ministers who were dissatisfied with the predominance of Lutteh Mahommed, availed themselves of this feeling, and seizing the opportunity of his casual absence from the capital, they carried off Bhyjee to Mandavie, of which Hunsry was at that time in charge. The wealth and respectable character of Hunsry, the junction of the other ministers, and the popular manners of Bhyjee, joined to the goodness of his cause, soon drew the majority to his party, while Lutteh Mahommed was glad to abandon Bhoj and to compromise his claim to the administration for the possession of the fort and dependencies of Anjar.

The death of Bhyjee, which happened in 1802, six months after the revolution, restored the ascendancy of Lutteh Mahommed. Hunsry was a merchant, and his wealth and popularity were insufficient to make up for the want of knowledge and confidence in military affairs. He withdrew to Mandavie, leaving Bhoj to be captured by Lutteh Mahommed while Luckput Bunder, Moon-dra Bitta, and Seesagud with their districts, remained in the hands of independent chiefs,* who, although three of them professed Mahomedanism, were all close confederates of Hunsry. These parties were supported entirely by their mercenary troops, consisting of Arabs, Sindees, and Mussulmans of Cutch. The Jharejahs appear to have possessed but little weight, and to

* Mahommed Meyan Sotah who enacted so prominent a part afterwards was one of these and also Malik Mahommed.

have taken little interest in the struggle ; some remained at their forts entirely neutral, others served the contending parties for pay ; and although the Rao's person was in the hands of Futteh Mahommed, and Hunsraj had not even the shadow of legitimate authority, the greater part of the Bhyand were entertained in his service, or attached to his party. Futteh Mahommed proceeded with vigour against such of these as came within his reach ; he fomented their family quarrels ; he besieged their forts ; he levied contributions on various pretences, as well to fill his treasury as to gratify his revenge. His necessities obliged him also to impose numerous and severe taxes and fines on the merchants and ryots ; but although these proceedings naturally created general discontent, there seems to have been no attempt to form any combination against him. He continued to govern the capital and the greater part of the Rao's territories, and to carry on depredations on the possessions of his rivals until his death ; and the name of the "Jemidar" is now as much respected in Cutch as that of any of the Raos, his predecessors in authority. The death of Futteh Mahommed took place in 1813 ;—it was preceded by that of Hunsraj, and shortly followed by that of Rao Rahiden.

SECTION II

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE BRITISH CON-
NEXION TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY
OF 1816

WE have now arrived at a stage in the History of Cutch when its connexion with the British Government forms the chief part of the detail, and it is here necessary, before proceeding to relate the consequences of the death of Futteh Mahommed, to revert a little, in order to trace the various negotiations which took place. At one of the periods, 1801-2, when Hunsry the gover-

the purpose of allaying the dissensions between himself and Futteh Mahommed, which destroyed the peace of the country, and, to obtain this mediation, he offered to cede Cutch to the Honourable Company, provided the capital was reserved for the residence of the Rao, and arrangements were made for the future support of his Highness. During the next two years, another

proposal was received at Bombay to subsidize a body of British troops for the protection of Cutch, which was followed also by a third a short time after (1804), in which both Hunsraj and Futteh Mahommed concurred.

But it was not the policy nor wish of the British government to form any closer alliance with the state of Cutch than what would merely gain for its own subjects, and those of its allies, protection against the unruly dependents of the Rao: and, accordingly, the only agreements entered into with the chieftains above-named, in 1809, were a provision for the suppression of piracy, which had been carried on to a great extent from all the northern ports; and another for the security of Kattiwar and Guzerat, by a stipulation that none of his Highness's troops should cross to the eastward of the Runn or Gulf of Cutch. In return for these engagements, the British government undertook to adjust the settlement of some pecuniary claims made by the Bhooj durbar on the Jam or Prince of Nuwanuggur, but declined to interfere further in the affairs of Cutch than merely to warn the government of Sinde against any attempt at the conquest of that country which the Ameers had shown a disposition to effect.

These arrangements, unfortunately, did not accomplish the object of the English government. The shores of Cutch continued to swarm with pirates, who committed their depredations in the most audacious manner, and to the interruption of all commerce. Sewiraj, the son of Hunsraj,

who had succeeded his father in the command of Mandavie, encouraged these outrages by conniving at the escape of the most daring offenders, and further added to the evil, by imposing a tax on all vessels, not even excepting those furnished with British passes, which entered the Gulf of Cutch. Several of the Company's cruisers were employed in checking these piracies, but they, nevertheless, increased to such an extent, that the Bombay government at length resolved to send an agent to remonstrate with the Mandavie authorities, as well as to obtain payment of a sum of money due to the Honourable Company, and his Highness the Guicawar, by Sewiraj Hunary.

The person selected for this purpose was Captain James M'Murdo, a gentleman whose talents and accomplishments fully qualified him for the difficult task. A considerable marine force was placed at his disposal, and he was instructed to collect information respecting the haunts and strength of the pirates,—a duty which he accomplished often at great personal risk, and in a manner highly satisfactory to government. This officer had been but a few days at Mandavie when his penetration enabled him to discover that the pirates not only received protection at that place, but were even permitted to remain unpunished under the immediate eye of Lutteh Mahommed. A ship freighted with property to a considerable amount, belonging to Shah Darah, a prince of Cabul, was plundered in the Gulf of Cutch by a mercant named Nackwa Hussun, who

his ill-gotten wealth to Bhooj, where he was allowed to squander it openly in every kind of dissipation.

With Sewiraj Hunsraj, who satisfied all demands, Captain M'Murdo was able to come to an amicable agreement; but matters had scarcely been settled at Mandavie, when his attention was strongly attracted to Futteh Mahommed, who had now also begun to show his disregard of the stipulation of 1809. Bodies of banditti from the province of Wagur were daily permitted to cross into Kattiwar, which they ravaged and laid waste. A Sindee assassin of a British officer, (Captain Phelan,) who had escaped from Nuwanuggur, was employed in the Bhooj durbar; the notorious pirate, Nackwa Hussun, with many others of the same description, were publicly encouraged to reside in that capital; and, as if all these violations of a sacred compact were insufficient, Futteh Mahommed himself proceeded to lead a force across the Runn into Parkur, and established a garrison at Santilpoor, a village on the Gazerat frontier, with the avowed purpose of extending his authority in that quarter.

These various infringements of the treaty were not allowed to pass without a spirited remonstrance upon the part of Captain M'Murdo, who, having concluded his arrangements at Mandavie, had retired to Moorvee in Kattiwar, whence he reminded the Jemidar of his engagements, and urged him to maintain them. The Jemidar called on him to make restitution of the property of Shah Darab, who had been seized by the Jemidar, and who had solicited the aid of the British Government at Bombay.

government, and insisted on the immediate surrender of the Sindhee murderer, and the pirate, as the only means of removing a most disgusting suspicion from Futeh Mahommed himself. Through this representation the garrison at Santilore was withdrawn, and negotiations were in progress for the punishment of the Wagur plunderers, &c. when Futeh Mahommed died. Having thus supplied the broken link, we now proceed to follow the regular chain of the narration.

On the death of Fattah Mahomed, the government of Cutch devolved quietly on his two eldest sons Huzza and Ibrahim Mogan. Nothing could be more dissimilar than the character of these young men. Ibrahim Mogan possessed talent, courage and energy, with the two he of these qualities in excess, although the younger of the two he had already taken an active part in the affairs of the state, and he had been entrusted with the command of the army at the battle of Kankar in 1799 while he was a child who was understood to be of a weak and vacillating nature. He had been recommended to the throne by his father and he did not. For some years before the death of Fattah Mahomed had been the favourite of the people of Jagjivanpur with a view to the throne and he was a man of a very different character from his father and he was a man of a very different character from his father and he was a man of a very different character from his father.

ted by the ties of blood with the Jemidar, and had not only been the cause of much jealousy to his sons, but had proved particularly irksome to their mother, Jumalbhye, a woman of an intriguing disposition, much under the guidance of Mahommed Meyan Sotah, the soi-disant lord of Moon-dra, one of the most turbulent characters of the period, to whom she was nearly related. The angry feelings of these members of his family on this account had required all Futteh Mahommed's decision to restrain them, and they now broke forth with redoubled violence on his death. On hearing of that event, Ibrahim Meyan instantly returned from Kunkote, and, under the pretence of assembling his friends to assist at the ceremonies of his father's funeral, he invited Mahommed Meyan Sotah, Malik Mahommed, Dossul Vain, and other Mahommedan officers, to Bhooj, where a party was immediately formed against Jugjeewan Mehtah, and a plan entered into for putting him to death.

Hussain Meyan, Futteh Mahommed's eldest son, does not appear to have been entrusted to the full extent with the designs of these conspirators; either from an idea that he was partial to the intended victim, or that his timid and irresolute character rendered him unfit, in their estimation, for any measure which required secrecy and decision. The plot, however, was discovered by the vigilance of an Arab Jemidar, named Ahya, who had obtained employment in the service of the durbar, through the patronage of Jugjeewan, and who, on hearing of his danger, came boldly

forward together with his countrymen and declared their united intention of defending the Mehtah's life and property against all attack.

Matters had reached this crisis, when Rao Rajinder died, and an event occurred which, from its adding religion to the other causes of division, was calculated to inflame the rage of the parties to the uttermost. That unhappy prince, who had long been confined on account of insanity, among his other wild eccentricities, had always afflicted a fiery zeal for the Mahommedan faith, and had even attempted, when not under personal restraint, to spread it by the sword throughout his dominions. Latterly, his ravings had been entirely on the subject of religion, he had adopted all the austerities of the most devoted enthusiast, and had left directions that his body should be interred in a small mosque, which he had erected for this particular purpose within the precincts of the palace. A request of this nature was too much in accordance with the religious prejudices of Ibrahim Meyan and his Musulman associates to be received with indifference. They lost not a moment in preparing to give effect to it in the most open and solemn manner, and they had made every arrangement for the funeral according to the forms prescribed by their creed, when Jaggewan Mehtah, accompanied by four or five hundred Rajpoots, forcibly seized the

the instigation of the ladies of

viewed the proposed interment in the light of a profanation. Ibrahim Meyan and his party were either too much taken by surprise, or had really not power sufficient to prevent its completion, and the ashes of Rao Rahiden were deposited with those of his ancestors; but it is almost needless to add, that Jugjeewan Mehta's conduct was esteemed by the Mahommedans as an act of atrocious sacrilege; and while it thus exasperated his enemies to the utmost, and unfortunately excited against him the general feelings of a powerful and military class of the community, it had also the more fatal effect, as will afterwards appear, of diminishing his popularity with the Arabs, his recent defenders. In this state of affairs, intrigues immediately commenced regarding the succession to the throne, and were carried on with the virulence of party spirit for several weeks. Jugjeewan Mehta and the principal Jharejah chiefs declared in favour of Ladoba, the lawful son of Bhyjee Bawa, and nephew of the late Rao Rahiden; while the opposite faction resolved to elevate Maun Sing, the son of that prince, by a slave girl.

Both these competitors were young, and ignorant of state affairs. Either of the two would have answered the general purposes of the Mahommedan party, who merely wished to place a puppet on the throne, that they might advance their own lawless designs, under the cover of his name and authority; and Ladoba, from being the younger and more legitimate, would in all probability have been preferred, had not the private feelings of

Ibrahim Meyan interfered and fixed the election on his rival. To explain this circumstance, we must enter briefly into the history of Ibrahim Meyan. About two years before the period at which we have arrived, that youngman had formed an attachment for Keeser Rao the eldest son of Maun Sing.

His stolen visits at the palace, the intercourse between the lovers was exposed, by a Marwarry Jemidar, named Malum Sing, to Futeh Mahommed whose conduct on this occasion evinced the superiority of his character. A connexion with the family of the Rao, now easily within his reach, would have added much to his personal respectability, and might have been a sure means of continuing his power to his descendants, but he disdained to purchase such an

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On his return to Bhooj after his father's death Ibrahim Meyan renewed his intimacy with Keeser Rao, at whose entreaties he engaged to support her brother's pretensions, to the exclusion of the lawful heir. Mahommed Meyan Sotah received a bribe of 50,000 cories, and, by their united influence, Maun Sing was raised to the throne by the name of Rao Bharra, or Bharmuljee.

No opposition appears to have been made to this election by the Jharejahs, many of whom remained in their own possessions, indifferent to

the passing events, while the others were either bribed to compliance, or afraid to object. Rao Bharmuljee was eighteen years of age when he ascended the throne. His previous life had been passed in the gloomy monotony of the palace, and his elevation made but little change in his situation. Except on occasions when he was required to appear in public as a pageant, he and his cousin Ladoba were alike kept in strict confinement, where they are said to have lived together in terms of the closest intimacy, and even to have engaged in plans for the subversion of the influence of the Moondra chieftain, who, in the name of Hussain Meyan, soon possessed himself of all the authority, and contrived to fill Bhooj with his mercenary troops. All that two young princes so situated were able to attempt, was not likely to be effectual; but the haughty and overbearing conduct of Mahommed Meyan Sotah at length had the effect of rousing the slumbering energies of Hussain Meyan himself, who, disgusted at the little consideration which had been shown him, privately abandoned the Mussulman party, and made overtures to that headed by Jugjeevan Mehtah.

Meanwhile the British government had, subsequently to the death of Futteh Mahommed, renewed its application to Hussain Meyan, who, after some negotiations, requested an agent should be sent to Bhooj. The person selected for this employment was Ragoba Appa, a man of competent talent and experience, with whom I have often conversed, and who was directed to adopt

the most conciliatory demeanour in his intercourse with the Cutch Government. On his arrival at Bhooj, he found the parties in the state just detailed, and by his interposition confirmed the renewed friendship between the Mehtah and Hussain Meyan, both of whom he found favourable to the object of his mission. The consequence of Nagoba Appa's proceedings was an invitation to Captain M'Murdo, who was still at Moortee, to visit Bhooj, and a remonstrance to Hussain Meyan on the part of Jugjeewan Mehtah, who, as yet supported by the Arabs, and now inspired with confidence by the presence of the British agent, declared his determination not to serve the Durbar in any capacity till Mahommed Meyan Sotah was dismissed. Hussain Meyan summoned up resolution to comply with the Mehtah's request, but Mahommed Meyan Sotah showed no readiness to quit Bhooj, and even attempted by threats and entreaties, to obtain an order forbidding the approach of Captain M'Murdo. Finding however, his efforts unsuccessful he retired to Moondra in the greatest indignation and disgust. Ibrahim Meyan, though equally hostile to the measures which had been adopted by his brother and Jugjeewan Mehtah continued in

... with respect, and found Jugjeewan Mehtah and Hussain Meyan apparently inclined to be on the most amicable terms with the British Government. On the subject of Sindhpore, which

became a matter of discussion, they excused themselves, by declaring that they considered the Cutch Durbar had a right to send troops to that place; the spirit of the treaty of 1809 being, as they understood it, to prevent incursions into the territories of the Honourable Company and its allies, among whom they did not include the Nawaub of Rahidenpoore, to whom Santilpore belonged. They acknowledged that Futteh Mahommed had invited the infamous Nackwa Hussun to Bhooj after his plundering Prince Darab's property, but denied the value of the effects seized; there being, as they asserted, nothing more than a few Persian ornaments, which they professed their willingness to restore. The pirate himself, they admitted, was in the service of Mahommed Meyan Sotah, from whom they agreed to demand him, and to deliver him up to the British Government for punishment. They were further ready to give up the Sindee assassin, provided he could be discovered in Cutch; and they also confessed the justice of our demands against Wagur, to chastise the plunderers of which province they offered to send a force, and invited Captain M'Murdo to accompany it. Hussain Meyan freely acknowledged the imbecility of his administration, and expressed his readiness to accept the mediation of the British Government, whose good offices, he said, he had before intended to solicit in assisting to settle the disturbed state of Cutch, and to enable him to place the resources of the country in the hands of legitimate authority.

In conformity with these proposals, which,

though evasive in many respects, showed a proof of a desire to obtain the favour of English Government, the Durbar applied to Moondra chief for the surrender of the pirate Hussun, and Hussain Meyan marched 12th April with 3000 men into Wagur, whither he was accompanied by Captain M'Murdo. Mahommed Meyan Sotah's laconic and cavalier reply to the application just alluded to, will demonstrate the temper of that chief, as well as his regard for truth—the pirate having been actually seen in his employment at the very time his letter was written—and his respect for the Government of Cutch. It was in these terms “You mention the English M'Murdo is arrived, let me know what he communicates. The Nackwa Hussun is at Curachee.” On the advance of the above force into Wagur, many of the chieftains repaired to Hussun Meyan's camp, and submitted to his authority. He established garrisons at Palanswa, Bhapoor, &c and the province ostensibly returned to a state of order. but, as his means were too limited to secure an effectual and permanent tranquillity, he shortly after returned to Bhooj, and Captain M'Murdo proceeded to Kattiwar, perfectly satisfied of the inability of the reigning powers in Cutch to restrain their troublesome dependents. During this interval, Ibrahim Meyan, although had accompanied the Wagur expedition, had never ceased to upbraid and condemn his member of the Moondra party, and her for his adherence, to what termed, British interests. On the latter

the capital, Ibrahim established himself at Kunkote, and encouraged the Belah, and other plunderers of Wagur, by every means in his power; finally, he declared open war against his brother and the Bhooj authorities, and, together with Ascaran Sa, a troublesome and turbulent character, with whom he had allied himself and Mahommed Meyan Sotah, committed extensive depredations in the district of Anjar, and forcibly took possession of the town and fort of Futteh Ghud. While the eastern side of Cutch was thus a prey to rapine and disorder, Mandavie was also the scene of contention and bloodshed. Dhosul Vain and Malik Mahommed, at the instigation of the Moondra chieftain, made an attempt to wrest it from Sewiraj Hunsraj, their employer, but were detected and defeated. Civil war raged with all its fury; nor had the durbar any means to check or suspend its horrors. Three or four distinct factions divided the country, all of whom joined only in one object, the plunder of the labouring and peaceable classes, who were reduced to beggary and starvation by their manifold extortions. The Wagur banditti, seizing the opportunity, extended their ravages both at home and abroad. Sixty villages belonging to the Guicowar and Peishwa in Kattiwar, had now been destroyed; and as no effectual means were taken to prevent these outrages, the British government at length intimated that their troops, and those of their allies, would no longer be restrained from following the marauders to their own haunts at Wagur; that the Bhooj durbar would be liable to the

charges of the equipment of the force to be so employed, and that certain instalments, due to his Highness, the Rao, by the Jam of Nawarangur, would be applied to the indemnification of the losses already sustained. This intimation, on the part of the English government, added to the successes of the Moondra party, which Hussain Mejan had no power to combat, produced a powerful effect on the weak and timid character of that chief. After some vacillation, he at length determined to throw himself on the mercy of his brother, to whom, through the influence of their mother, he was reconciled, and Cutch became once more at the disposal of men inimical to British influence, as proofs of which, the promise formerly made, that the pirate Hussain who was now a prisoner at Bhooj should be delivered up, was disregarded—the Sinde murderer was openly retained in the service of Ibrahim Mejan,—and he and his party adopted every means in their power to show their indifference respecting the claims which had been preferred.

The re-union of the brothers was a prelude to a cruel and barbarous tragedy. Jugjeewan Mehtah's habits of business rendered him at first necessary to them as a minister, but his offences against the party now in power had been too grievous to be forgiven, and the former resolution of assassinating him was soon renewed. His popularity with the Arabs had been for some time gradually on the decline. Most of them, in fact, had incurred large private debts to him, besides receiving considerable advances of pay from him as

a public servant of the durbar, and they now viewed him only in the light of a creditor, from whose importunities they were anxious to be relieved. Under these circumstances, a confidential agent from Ibrahim Meyan found no great difficulty in corrupting the popular Jemidar Ahya; and the whole Arab body finally consented to withdraw their protection from Jugjeewan, in consideration of an acquittance of all sums of money which had been advanced to them from the public treasury, and a present of 6000 cories to each of their leading officers. These proceedings were carried on with the most profound secrecy; and it is but charity to suppose that Hussain Meyan was not made acquainted with them until too late to prevent their fatal effects. The ill-fated object of the conspiracy did not entertain the slightest suspicion of his danger, till the designs of his enemies were ripe for execution, and he saw his residence suddenly surrounded and attacked by a body of armed men, under the command of Ibrahim Meyan in person, and Jaffeer Sotah, the brother of the Moondra chief. The presence of two such leaders, whom Jugjeewan had always known to be the most inveterate of his foes, could leave not a moment's doubt on his mind as to the intentions of the assailants. In despair, therefore, he prepared to make the most determined resistance, and, supported by his domestics, actually continued to baffle all attempts to effect an entrance into his house for six hours. At the end of that period, three pieces of ordnance having been brought to bear on the door, further defence was

hopeless, and he was inveigled into a capitulation by a promise sacredly given, that he might proceed to the palace of Futteh Mahommed's sons to plead for his life. The assault had been so protracted, that Ibrahim Meyan had retired before this understanding was entered into, but a negro Jemidar of some importance in his service, named Ibrahim Seedee, who was present, and in whose honour Juggeewan believed he could repose confidence, having volunteered to become security for the maintenance of the pledge, and even to escort him in safety to the presence of Hussain Meyan, the unfortunate Mehtah went out into the street without hesitation, and accepted his protection. He
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Meyan's residence

ordered him to be dispatched, a command which was instantly executed by Jasseer Sotah and his attendants.

Early in the morning of the same day, Ram chunder Mehtah, the brother of Juggeewan, on going to pay his usual respects at the durbar, had been entrapped and strangled by order of Ibrahim Meyan, who alleged that he had committed suicide. Another brother, the sole remaining member of the family, named Kooberjee, who had long been in declining health, and who was probably spared by the assassins on account of

his utter helplessness and insignificance, having witnessed the ruin of his house, determined not to survive it, and a few days after, caused himself to be buried alive, agreeably to a custom adopted by Brahmins, of invoking the vengeance of the Almighty upon those who have oppressed them. The bloody work of the conspirators being completed, the Mehtah's house was given over to the pillage of the soldiery, and the most valuable part of his property was confiscated to the state, or rather to the private use of Hussain and Ibrahim Meyans, who took the administration of affairs into their own hands, assisted by Mehtahs Wullubjee, and Luckmadass. Jugjeewan Mehtah had been much respected at Bhooj, and his murder, under such cruel and afflicting circumstances, excited great disgust among the inhabitants. Hussain Meyan had taken no active or open part in it; and the odium appears chiefly to have fallen on Mahommed Meyan Sotah, and his brother Jaffer, who retired to Moondra, in order to escape the popular indignation, as well as from a fear that the British government would interfere.

The ferment occasioned by these tragical events had scarcely subsided, when Ibrahim Meyan was as suddenly called to the tribunal of Heaven to answer for his offences. He had, in concert with his brother, Luckmadass, and other associates, appointed a public day, in order to bestow rewards and distinctions on his officers, and particularly on those who had assisted him in the murder of Jugjeewan Mehtah; and the whole assembled in great state at Hussain Meyan's re-

aidence for the purpose. Amongst those who presented themselves, in the hope of obtaining notice, was Malum Sing the Marwarry Jemidar, formerly mentioned as having betrayed Ibrahim Meyan's intrigue with Kesser Bye to Futteh Mahommed, and who now urged a claim of many years' service to the durbar for preferment. Ibrahim Meyan, whose feelings towards the man may be readily conceived repelled him with scorn, and the grossest abuse, which the Marwarry immediately resented, by stabbing him mortally on the spot. The scene that followed may be imagined. Husain Meyan horror-struck, and expecting to be the next victim rushed with Luckmadass into another apartment, but their apprehension was soon proved to be groundless, for the assassin was instantly cut to pieces, and it was never discovered that he had any confederates.

It is generally understood that Malum Sing went to the levee expressly for the purpose of committing the murder, and this opinion is supported by the fact of his having carried the weapon with which he perpetrated it carefully concealed under his clothes into the assembly. He had just before been relieved from duty at the palace, and he was supposed by many to have been instigated by the Rao, but Bharmuljee, who was then only about eighteen years of age, had previously shown no evil disposition, nor does there seem any good reason for adding this additional sin to his load of crimes. Persons who were well acquainted with the characters of the

parties, and who were eye-witnesses of the transaction, do not attribute it to the provocation that was given at the moment ; and Ibrahim Meyan's death may probably be referred to his having engaged in an intrigue with a female connected with the Marwarry Jemidar, whose revenge was no doubt sharpened by the insults that were offered to him. Ibrahim Meyan had not attained the age of twenty-five years when he was assassinated. From his depraved habits, and total want of principle, it is scarcely to be supposed that his death would be regretted ; but as he was a young man of great liberality, personal bravery, and address, and the only one of his family who inherited any portion of the talent of his father, the old friends of Futteh Mahommed bewailed his loss, as that of the representative, however unworthy, of their Jemidar, and foresaw the immediate ruin of his house, whose power he himself, from a knowledge of the characters of his children, had prophesied would not long survive him.

The murder of his brother excited the greatest consternation in Hussain Meyan's mind. Unable to distinguish between friends and enemies, he resigned himself almost to despair, and, with the timidity natural to his disposition, remained shut up in his house, guarded by the Arabs. His suspicions at first fell upon the Rao, whose palace he ordered to be attacked ; and although his Highness solemnly protested his innocence, a body of Arabs was permanently stationed in the durbar ; while, in order to guard against future conspiracies, the Marwarry soldiery in Bhooj, amounting

to two or three hundred men, were either massacred, or expelled from Cutch. All these events created a great sensation throughout the country. The gates of the capital were kept closed for many days, and scarcely any communication took place among the inhabitants. Hussain Meyan's fears rendered him perfectly incapable of acting with calmness or propriety, and the government being without any efficient head, the Arab Jemidars usurped the whole authority, and for a short time conducted the affairs of the state, levying for their own use heavy fines and contributions. But chow, Chowbaree, and Rhapoor, with several other towns, taking advantage of the imbecility of the government, declared their independence of Bhooj, and even applied for the support and protection of the British. After a time Hussain Meyan, who had never dared to appear in public since the assassination of his brother, sent to implore the assistance of Mahommed Meyan Sotah, who well aware, however, of his unpopularity, declined visiting Bhooj on the plea of sickness, but added to the troubles of the country, by directing his retainers to plunder in every direction. During this state of affairs, the Wagar freebooters continued their depredations, and the British go-

grasp at any chance of support, and he willingly offered to send an agent to adjust all differences.

But the incapacity of Hussain Meyan for

government, and the despicable nature of his character, had of late become but too apparent. The troubles he had inflicted on the country were now so grievously felt, that the respectable part of the community determined to be relieved from a chief at once odious and contemptible; and the tide of popular opinion turned entirely in favour of Rao Bharmuljee, who had secretly been carrying on negotiations with Sewiraj Hunsraj and the principal Jharejahs. Deputies soon arrived from Mandavie, expressing the readiness of the authorities there to acknowledge the Rao; and Sewiraj himself, with Ascaran Sa and many of the chiefs, assembled troops in support of his cause. Hunsain Meyan, whom his Arab Jemidars had in vain attempted to inspire with courage, readily yielded to the current; and when it became evident that his cause was unsupported, he made a virtue of necessity, by entering into a compromise with Bharmuljee, who, on his consenting to leave Bhooj, gave him a grant of Anjar, Butchow, Badurghud, and Kunkote. He was then dismissed with an honorary dress, and proceeded to Anjar, whither he was accompanied by all the Arab mercenaries, none of whom the new government would permit to remain at Bhooj. By these measures all opposition being terminated, the keys of the city were delivered, with every formality, to Rao Bharmuljee, who appointed Sewiraj Hunsraj and Ascaran Sa his ministers; and the country, for the present, was restored to quietness.

The British government had awaited the issue

of events at Bhooj, in the hope that a restoration of legitimate authority would lead to an adjustment of their demands. They now renewed their application to the Rao, and expressed their

the Cutch durbar had not hitherto been absolutely identified with the plunderers of Wagur, but Bharmuljee settled the question, by openly complimenting Sirmanya, the most notorious of these, with a dress of honour, and he also adopted the violent step of agent of Cutch, the evasive

derjee Seojee, a horse contractor for the Honourable Company at Mandavie, as the mediator with the British government.

The tranquillity of Cutch was of short duration. The hereditary chieftain of Hunkote suddenly surprised that town, and expelled Hussain Meyan's garrison, Sewary Huneraj and Ascaran Sa quarrelled before six weeks had elapsed, and the latter left Bhooj to join Mahommed Meyan Sotah, who had raised the standard of rebellion at Moondra, and was collecting troops from every quarter. The country was once more involved in faction and confusion. The Rao assembled a force, and moved against Moondra, which he invested at the same time compelling the authorities there to listen to terms. Mahommed Meyan Sotah engaged to surrender his town at the end of one month, provided his Highness would im

mediately withdraw his army, and, in proof of his sincerity, he delivered up his brother, Jasseer Meyan, as a hostage; but before the stipulated period had elapsed, Jasseer Meyan contrived to escape to Moondra, and assisted his brother in retaining that place in defiance of the durbar.

The government of Rao Bharmuljee soon became exceedingly unpopular. His marriage, which took place on his return from Moondra, attracted crowds to Bhooj, who were treated by him and his public servants with great indignity. He evinced a strong and unaccountable aversion to the Jharejah chiefs, many of whom had been instrumental in restoring him to the throne; and an unwarrantable attack he made on the chief of Assumbia, whose town he destroyed, and on whose family he imposed a large fine, gave great disgust to the whole of these noblemen. Unpopular as the Rao was in his own dominions, his ministers determined to raise him enemies from abroad. A British and Guicowar force had been ordered to reduce Jooriah in Kattiwar, and Sewiraj Hunsraj openly supplied the rebellious authorities of that place with assistance and ammunition.

The easy and unexpected reduction of Jooriah embarrassed the Cutch government much, and opened the Rao's eyes to the danger of his proceedings. He consequently determined, if possible, to make his peace, even thus late, with the British, and to atone for his offences. With this view, he announced his intention of punishing the Wagur banditti, and marched into that district

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Rao Kishanji's presence in Vagur was limited for a short time the members of the committee but he had scarcely withdrawn his force when their depredations were renewed with increased vigour. Captain M-Morda's own camp was attacked by them in the neighbourhood of Maceva. In the space of a few months one hundred and thirty-six villages in Kanwar had been plundered, forty thousand head of cattle had been carried off, and property to the amount of eight lacs of rupees damaged and destroyed. In addition to all this, an expense had been incurred by the British and Guicowar governments of above ten lacs of rupees in equipping troops to check these unprovoked proceedings. Forbearance had been misconstrued by the Bhooj durbar into weakness and as it was now certain that the Rao either wanted the power or the inclination to control his unruly subjects, Captain M-Morda was instructed to make a specific demand of compensation.

tion for the past, and a guarantee against future incursions, together with the surrender of Sirmanya's family, and satisfaction for the insults offered to the British government in having so long delayed, under frivolous pretences, to send an envoy to settle all disputes, as well as for the offensive manner in which the native agent had been forced to leave Bhooj. To these points an explicit answer was required within a given period; and in order clearly to evince the intentions of the allied governments, an army composed of British and Guicowar troops, under the command of Colonel William East, C. B. and Wittul Row Dewanjee, was ordered to advance to the border of the Runn.

Rao Bharmuljee permitted the specified period to elapse without sending any answer to these demands, although, a few days after, he addressed a letter to Captain M'Murdo, couched in general terms, and without any allusion to the articles in question. In consequence of this evasion, the combined troops crossed the Runn at Vensair, and advanced to Wandiah, the chief of which, and many others, immediately threw themselves on the mercy of the allied governments. Proposals had previously been made by the Mandavie and Moondra authorities, both of which had now thrown off their subjection to Bharmuljee, and with them Captain M'Murdo lost no time in entering into a communication, in order to prevent a re-union with the Durbar. He addressed a letter to the Rao, expressing an eager desire that matters might be amicably settled, and still begging agents

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summons, and these apparently with no warlike intentions.

Colonel East's force advanced to Bheemasir, within three marches of the capital and one of Anjar, without any show of opposition. The intention of Captain M'Murdo had been to proceed directly to Bhooj, and there to enter into such a treaty as would meet the wishes of his government; but this arrangement was entirely changed from the detection of one of the most treacherous and cowardly acts that ever was recorded. On the arrival of the army at Bheemasir, it was discovered that a large quantity of wheat, and it is said arsenic, had been thrown into the tank on which the troops chiefly depended for water; and information was at the same time received that all the wells in the direction of Bhooj were poisoned in a similar manner. Although suspicions at first attached to Rao Bharmuljee, it was soon ascertained that the perpetrators of this atrocity were horsemen from Anjar, and that the more immediate agent was Hussain Meyan. Under these circumstances, it became clear that the army ought not to proceed without due caution; and it was necessary, as a temporary measure, to take possession of some post that would secure a constant communication with the friendly shores of Kattiwar. Hussain Meyan was accordingly called on to permit the occupation of Anjar, and its tributary fort of Toona, on the sea side, by a British garrison; but as he objected to this proposal, the force advanced, and a battery was erec-

ted against Anjar, which did not surrender until a breach had been rendered practicable. Hussain Meyan was allowed to remain unpunished, and has since lived in obscurity at Moorree, chiefly on the charity of the Bhoj durbar.

On the reduction of Anjar, which was immediately followed by that of Toona, Captain M'Murdo again addressed the Rao, explaining the cause and necessity of the measures which had

been taken. On the surrender of the towns, Mahommed Meyan Sotih made his submission in person at the British camp, and letters were received from the Rao, and Sewiraj Munraj of a conciliatory nature.

Under the impression that Bharmuljee's occupation of the throne was considered an usurpation by the chiefs and inhabitants, as well, perhaps, as from some regard to the rights of legitimacy, Captain M'Murdo had been instructed to ascertain the feelings of the Tharejahs towards Ladoba, and if these were favourable, to enter into a treaty with that prince, as the lawful Rao of Cutch. No disposition unfavourable to Bharmuljee was however evinced in any quarter, and it consequently only remained to commence the necessary negotiations with him.

It was only on the arrival of the British army at Jackoond, within a few miles of the capital, that agents arrived from Bhoj, expressing the

willingness of their master to agree to the proposed terms. The Rao then delivered a bond, with the security of the principal Jharejahs for twenty lacs of rupees, in payment of all demands, besides a promise of two lacs of cories as a yearly tribute; and, after several negotiations, a treaty of amity and alliance was concluded between the governments, of which the principal articles, independently of the compensation for past, and security against future depredations, on the part of the durbar, were an engagement on our part to reduce Wagur, &c. to the subjection of the Rao, and the cession of the city and district of Anjar to the British government, in virtue of which, Captain M'Murdo remained at that place as collector and political resident in Cutch.

SECTION III

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY OF 1816,
TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY OF 1819

THE terms of the new treaty were highly advantageous to the Rao Bharmuljee. His title to the throne, however dubious, was now acknowledged by the only power in India which could give it stability; Wagur was reduced under subjection by the British troops in the course of a few weeks; and a yearly assessment, in his name, as lord paramount, was laid on its chiefs, at the rate of forty cories for every plough. The refractory authorities of Mandavie, Moondra, Seesiglund, Butchwa, &c. seeing the aspect of affairs, at once submitted, and Bharmuljee found his country, for the first time, free from open faction, and himself in undisputed sovereignty.

Of the twenty lacs of rupees, claimed in name of indemnification and expenses, the British government shortly afterwards remitted their own portion, amounting to above eight hundred thousand, together with the yearly tribute of two lacs of cories; a liberality which at first equally

surprised and delighted the Rao, who found no great difficulty in raising the remaining balance by fines on his refractory chieftains, and demands, under the title of voluntary contributions, from those who had long enjoyed the revenues of the country. Mahommed Meyan Sotah was the only one of these who declared his inability to afford pecuniary assistance; but the Bhooj government eventually found means to obtain from him nearly six lacs of cories.

Tranquillity being thus restored in Cutch, the British troops, with the exception of a small garrison stationed at Anjar, evacuated the country; and the durbar was left free to adopt its own measures. Luckmadass Wullubjee, already spoken of as the confederate of Hussain Meyan, became minister, with the assistance of Nuthoo Mehtah; and the military advisers of the Rao were Jharejahs Nonghuljee of Vinjan, and Pragjee of Kotree. None of these men were favourably inclined to the British interests, nor could much confidence be reposed in them. Luckmadass, a proud and narrow-minded Brahmin, though a man of talent, had been accused as an accessory in the murder of Jugjeewan Mehtah, and Jharejah Pragjee was known to be faithless and treacherous. Luckily for Bharmuljee, however, he found an able and sincere adviser in his sister Kesser Bhye, a young lady who possessed considerable ability, and who, for a time, was able to guide his conduct, by the maxims of prudence and moderation.

The British interference in Cutch had given great offence, and occasioned much apprehension

to the Ameer of Sindh, whose jealousy and fears were not allayed by the reported explanations they had received from Bombay. They immediately despatched messengers to Bhooj, ostensibly to negotiate the payment of a sum of money due at Hyderabad, by a merchant of Luckput, but, in reality, to intrigue with the Rao, and represented the circumstance of our having sent a force into Cutch as the most exaggerated hint to the Ameer.

Intelligence was soon after received at Bombay of preparations for the assemblage of a force at Shikarpoor, and various rumours were afloat of the march of the Afghaan army towards Sindh. But the Sindian ambassadors, on their arrival at Bhooj soon divulged their real object. They represented to the durbar the danger of forming a connexion with neighbours so powerful as the British, and they even went so far as to insinuate that, in case of necessity, the army of the Ameer was at the disposal of Rao Bharmuljee. No means were left untried to break up the alliance, but the Cutch government, fortunately for itself, and whatever may have been its real feelings, was proof against their solicitations, and the vakeels returned to Hyderabad without having gained any apparent object.

The mission from Sindh, however, to the Bhooj durbar was soon followed by a remonstrance from the king of Cutch himself to the governor general of India, in which, after expressing his con-

viction, that the invasion of the Rao's territories was unsanctioned by his lordship, his Majesty proceeds to claim for himself the sovereignty of Cutch, and to require the renunciation of all interference with that country as a component portion of the Afghann dominions. A letter from the vizier Futteh Khan Barukzye, which accompanied the king's communication, was still more explicit. It stated, that "news at this time has been brought to the royal feet, that some Kerin-gees of the English tribe, having more boldness than discretion, have shown a disposition to create disturbance, and have extended the hand of encroachment to the country of Cutch, which is the frontier district of the royal dominions. On hearing of this, the mind of his majesty was disturbed with anger, and his royal mandate was issued, that letters should be dispatched to all the Nazims of the provinces of the kingdom, enjoining them to be prepared, and to expect the receipt of further orders." The vizier proceeds to say, that, "if the people in question should not be restrained, and if intelligence of a similar occurrence should again reach the king, that two lacs of Douranies and Elats, four dustahs of Eemacks and Tymoorias, Huzarahs as numerous as ants and grasshoppers, the tribes of Ghiljes, and Andarees, and Tonkas, and Makooz, and Khoorkhanies, and Kohistanies; the armies composed of the Khusselbashees, and Moghuls, and Kanwaries, and Toorkalans, and Shurnwaries Husnud Khatick, and the Bungoes great and small, and the Daoodyes, and the Robaus, and the Mahmoodzyes.

and the Yoozafzyes both of the hills and of the plains, and the men of Nagron and Amin, and the Nuwab Suboolund Khan ruler of Kutch Wallah, and the governor of the Derah, and of Mooltan, and the army of Beloches, Burohoos and Muzari, and Rol unood Dowlah, and Amee rood Dowlah, with the Beloches army, and a train of artillery, and a Shahi Khanah—all these forces, numerous as the waves of the sea having collected agreeably to the royal orders, will surround these people, and annihilate them and friendship will be at an end. It is best, therefore that you should prohibit them and restrain them from these improper proceedings.”

This high sounding epistle, together with the formidable muster roll of his Majesty's forces, *was not likely to excite much alarm in the mind* of the Marquis of Hastings, who considered it, or, at all events, determined to treat the whole as forgery. His Lordship addressed a friendly reply to the vizier, in which he declared his conviction that the communications from Cabul were the fabrication of persons ill disposed to both states who sought to embroil them with a view to obtain some benefit to themselves, reminded him that Cutch had never at any time formed part of the dominions of the Afghan monarchy, and shortly explained the object of the British interference, adding that he necessarily believed the letter fictitious, since he was too well apprized of the knowledge, experience, and sagacity of Lutch Khan to imagine that he could conceive the British Government would for a moment be in

fluenced by any display of force, and that his information was too enlarged not to know, that though it does not misuse its strength by wantonly trespassing on its neighbours, it has never been attacked without destroying those who unjustly assailed it.

The state of affairs in Cabul was, however, somewhat changed before his lordship's reply reached that kingdom, and the messenger who conveyed it, after having been detained several weeks as a prisoner, by a detachment of Runjeet Sing's army, overtook the vizier at Peshavur ready to take the field against the Sikhs, who were threatening the frontier at Attock. Futed Khan, with that adroitness which native diplomatists generally display, immediately resolved to turn the letter to account, and with the view of impressing his enemies with sentiments favourable to his own interests, ordered a salute to be fired on its reception; at the same time proclaiming aloud through his camp that despatches had been received from the friend of the Cabul government, the Governor-General of India.

To the Marquis of Hastings the vizier replied in the most hyperbolical terms of oriental metaphor; assuring Captain M'Murdo, who had been the medium of communication, that "the sweet and delicious perfume of his lordship's rose-scented letter had ascended, with the most exquisite sensations, to the innermost recesses of his brain;" and that, from the moment he had perused it, he felt the excess of his regard for the British government, between which, and the state of Cabul, he

trusted that the "carpet of friendship would ever be spread in the palace of affliction." He desired the courier to inform the British agent, that, in the prosecution of his operations against the Sikhs, he not only did not expect an enemy in the English, but looked for their support, that in due time he meant to bring Sindh to its former state of dependence on Cabul, and that, if they had really any views towards that country, he would readily enter into them, and afford his assistance. To complete the farce, he gravely professed ignorance of the letters which had been received at Calcutta, and declared, that he could only account for them by supposing, that a Sindian agent had procured by bribery, impressions of his own and other official seals, from a faithless secretary who had been left at the capital of Cabul.

The Cutch government had, in the meantime, betrayed its utter unworthiness of the confidence and liberality of the British. Strange as it may seem, even the releasing it from a bond of so many lacs of rupees, excited the suspicion of its members, and the effects of the Sindian intrigues were soon visible. The increased power of the Rao only served to swell his arrogance and pride. During an occasional absence of the resident, the durbar determined to seize on the port of Toona, and for this purpose, the Arab mercenaries were recruited at Bhooj in express opposition to the articles of the late treaty. But these treacherous designs were crushed in their birth by the vigilance and decision of Captain M Murdo, who

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called in the assistance of some troops from Okamundel, on the Kattiwar side of the gulf, and insisted on the immediate reduction of the newly raised levies. His demands, after a great deal of evasion, were tardily complied with; and, indeed, much indifference was shown to every proposal emanating from the British government. The Khosas, a predatory tribe inhabiting the desert to the north of Cutch, had at this period commenced their marauding incursions; but nothing could induce the Rao to defend his own territories from these freebooters, much less to enter into any arrangement for the protection of those of his allies.

Evil and ungrateful as was this disposition on the part of the durbar, matters gradually became much worse. Luckmadass and his party, though indifferent, had never wished to come to an absolute rupture with the British government; but their influence speedily declined, and the Rao found far worse counsellors. He became addicted to constant intoxication and the lowest sensuality, and selected, as the associates of his pleasures, men of the meanest and most depraved characters, whose interest and object it appears to have been to instil into his mind constant suspicions of his new allies, and of their representative, Captain M'Murdo. Among these, as particularly worthy of execration, we may here mention Mohunjee Tuckkur, a wretch, who may with justice be called the evil genius of Rao Bharmuljee, and to whom all the subsequent misfor-

tunes of that unhappy prince are usually as is attributed.

The consequence of all this was soon apparent. The whole power fell into the hands of the Emperor's profigate favourites; and every act of injustice and injustice that could feed his avarice minister to his guilty enjoyments was daily sanctioned. The very influence of the British government, of which it was insinuated, and general belief, he would be supported under all circumstances, enabled him to obtain enormous sums of money from the merchants and other persons of property; and when this resource failed, every species of extortion was practised. The revenues for eight months in advance were seized from the cultivators of the soil, and every kind of tax were exacted in fines from the respectable officers and managers of the districts, it is compared to the grossest debauchery. His Majesty's name almost never was mentioned in conversation, he paid no attention whatever to his business, and he came more often to his garden. His daughter, the daughter of Fung, the Emperor's favourite, as he declared for Ibrahim Beg, and was devoted to his father and mother, of all persons, he publicly seized in the streets, he was taken to the palace, and there employed in the most disgraceful of their virtue. He was the most powerful of all, and was safe in the country. The Emperor was scarcely an exception, he was the most powerful, and never visited him, and he was the most powerful, himself, strong, and he was the most powerful.

having now lost both their property and power, entreated the interposition of Captain M'Murdo, as the only means of saving their lives. That officer was not by his instructions authorized to interfere; but, through his influence, he was enabled to obtain the appointment, as a member of the administration, of Ruttunsi Jetta, the nephew of Soondurjee Seojee, long a faithful and meritorious servant of the East India Company, in the hope that his talents and conciliatory manners might gain him such an ascendancy over Bharmuljee, as gradually to withdraw him from his evil habits and associates.

The resident's own efforts were directed to the same object, but unhappily proved fruitless; nor did Ruttunsi unfortunately ever obtain sufficient influence to secure so desirable an end. The Rao's depraved habits and their disastrous effects became daily more aggravating, and at length ended in a crime which showed that all principle and humanity had been discarded and forgotten. Ladoba, the unfortunate son of Bhyjee Bawa, since the elevation of his cousin to the throne, had remained as a kind of state prisoner in the durbâr; where, however, he was not rigidly guarded, but even frequently admitted as a companion at the debauched orgies of the Rao. His Highness and he had passed an evening together in drinking, and parted at a late hour with mutual professions of friendship; yet five minutes had scarcely elapsed before Ladoba was attacked by some armed men, in passing through one of the courts of the Palace, and brutally assassinated.

The Rao attempted for a time to deny his participation in this cruel and treacherous transaction, which he declared to have been an unauthorized act of his guards, and even dissimulated so far as to seize a musket and threaten to shoot the principal assassin, but it was soon discovered that the murder had been committed by his express orders, issued at the moment Ladoba left him, and that he had himself witnessed it from a window. No punishment was inflicted on the perpetrators of the atrocity, and the chief of these, an Arab Jemidar, named Abdool Kareem, was not only not removed from his situation, but was promoted in rank, and received many additional marks of his master's favour. Three months had not elapsed, however, before the hand of justice overtook this miscreant, for, a cow having been killed in the streets of Bhooj, by a soldier under his command, whom he attempted to shield from the punishment due to such an outrage on the prejudices of the Hindoos, he was put to death, together with the offender, by order of the Rao.

The murder of Ladoba was an act of wanton and uncalled for tyranny. No provocation had been given on his part, nor could his claims to the throne, now laid aside and forgotten, interfere with the Rao's possession of it, sanctioned as it was by the solemn decision of the Jharejah brotherhood, and the countenance of the British Government. We might in charity be inclined to attribute the assassination to frenzy proceeding from intoxication, did it not appear from Bhar muljee's subsequent conduct that his mind was

the prey of every suspicion, however unjust or ridiculous, and that his cruelty to Ladoba's family did not cease even with the murder of his unfortunate relative.

This barbarous proceeding on the part of the Rao occasioned much disgust in Cutch. Many of the Jharejah chiefs began now, when too late, to regret their indifference to the better-founded claims of Ladoba to the throne; most of them loudly expressed their abhorrence of his murder; and a feud broke out between the chieftains of Vinjan and Sandan in the Abbrassa, which may be traced to that cause. Bharmuljee's hatred against the Bhyauds had not been diminished by recent events, and he readily seized the opportunity of taking a part in the quarrel, and of levying a heavy fine on Sandan; an act of oppression, which, as will afterwards appear, was a main reason of his losing his throne.

The intelligence of these events reached Bombay, together with an affecting appeal from the father of the widow of the murdered prince, a petty chief in Kattiwar, who lived under the protection of the British government, and who implored it, by every principle of mercy and justice, to remonstrate with the Rao. He stated, that his daughter, now seven months advanced in pregnancy, had been placed in strict confinement at Bhooj, and entreated that she should be removed from that city, and delivered over to his own protection; representing, as an additional reason for this measure, that two children, formerly born to Ladoba, had been put to death, on the

prise that town, by introducing a body of armed men in a number of grass carts. The native British agent at Bhooj was treated in a manner little short of contempt; and every thing showed that the Rao wanted the ability, rather than the inclination, to proceed to open hostility.

The levies which had been collected were chiefly sent into Wagur, under the pretence of punishing the Khosas; but enough had been seen of the Rao's disposition, to induce the resident to call for reinforcements to the garrison of Anjar. A British regiment accordingly crossed the Runn from Guzerat; and application was made to the durbar for assistance in the way of supplies during its march. This request was not only refused, but the Rao ordered his troops under arms, prepared twenty-five pieces of field-artillery, and every arrangement was made to march, when the expedition was unexpectedly countermanded; the fumes of intoxication having evaporated, or his Highness having been deterred by the entreaty of some one remaining friend to his interests. On the approach of the battalion to Anjar, he stationed a body of troops ten miles in advance of Bhooj, and obstructed all communication between the two cities; but these were withdrawn a few days after on the remonstrance of the resident, and through the influence of Rut-tunsi.

Meanwhile the conduct of Rao Bharmuljee appeared in a different light to the court of Hyderabad: and that extraordinary government, on hearing of the murder of Ladoba, sent an am-

able a state as it had been in during the worst times of the mis-government of Rao Rahiden. Open rebellion and faction were only prevented by a dread of incurring the vengeance of the British Government, to which the Rao's hatred and dislike daily increased; and he was so infatuated, as to allow these feelings to evince themselves on every occasion. He never spoke of Captain M'Murdo but in terms of the grossest abuse; and, whenever intoxication supplied him with sufficient courage or candour, his designs against Anjar were loudly boasted of. His actions, moreover, in some measure, kept pace with his declarations. He put an end to the trade of the merchants of Anjar, by laying such duties on the cotton bought by them within his territories, as to render it impossible for them to send it to Toona; and, to complete the measure of folly, he prohibited vessels belonging to any other port from engaging in their service.

These aggressions were not permitted to proceed without remonstrance on the part of the resident. He had before taken various opportunities to entreat the Rao to discard his profligate habits and advisers. He now, with a degree of courage and decision equally creditable,—at a time, too, when every thing forboded treachery, and when he had been privately apprized of intentions to murder him,—paid a visit to the capital, and personally warned Bharmuljee of the danger and folly of his conduct, and of its inevitable consequences. The particulars of Captain M'Murdo's interviews at the durbar have been

related to me by the late Major Noble, an officer who accompanied him, and I have since been able to learn the real intentions of the Rao from persons then in his service. All accounts concur in stating, that he had given his consent to Tukkur Mohunjee for the assassination of the resident, and that it was only when that gentleman appeared in the durbar, that his resolution happily failed him, and the projected atrocity was countermanded. No respect, however, was shown to him or his suite on their visits to the durbar, on the contrary, they were jostled by the troops and attendants as they passed through the courts of the palace, their salutations were not even returned, and the populace appear to have been instructed, or, at all events, permitted, to assail them with ribaldry and abuse. The Rao himself was found intoxicated on every occasion of Captain M'Murdo's waiting upon him. He showed himself indifferent to every proposal which was made to him, and contented himself with flatly denying ever having given cause of offence. To a proposition to reduce the troops agreeably to an article in the treaty, he turned a deaf ear, and the resident left Bhong without having gained any one object.

Discontent and anarchy had now reached their height in this devoted province. Northern Malabar and others of the tributary fed, as the only means of saving their lives, and Lakshmana and his party became entirely favourable to the introduction of the British influence. The Rao's interference with Sardar, and as a result, he made a

impose a tribute on the Jharejah chiefs as a body, gave great dissatisfaction to the Bhyauds, who addressed a letter to the Bombay government, in which they set forth, that they had never been in the habit of making pecuniary payments, and entreated assistance, in the event of the durbar's attempting to enforce its unjust claims; finally, they declared their conviction, that the interposition of British authority was absolutely necessary for a thorough reformation in the affairs of Cutch. The Bombay government did not consider itself called on to interfere in a quarrel between the Jharejahs and their sovereign, whose claim to the crown they themselves had so recently acknowledged; nor did it wish to take any decided measures till the Rao's conduct should be such as to render actual hostility inevitable. This soon occurred; for Bharmuljee, who had been daily becoming more and more infatuated, at length formed the resolution of attacking, by surprise, the town of Anjar, over some of the villages attached to which he had previously tried to assume an unwarrantable degree of authority. With this view, he summoned all persons holding lands of the durbar, by military tenure, including Meeanahs to Bhooj; and marched to Lackhoond with five thousand men, and eleven pieces of cannon. Before adopting this step, he had, partly by promises of future forbearance towards them, and partly by intimidation, induced several of the Jharejahs to accompany his army with their quotas of troops, or a portion of them.

The Rao attempted to disguise his real de-

signs, by intimating to the resident his intention to move into Wagur to punish his refractory subjects in that province; though this pretence was of itself rendered glaringly improbable, from his having just previously recalled all his garrisons from that quarter. Preparations being made at Anjar to repel attack, he was forced to relinquish his views on that place, but he determined to adopt another mode of insulting the British government, and of showing his disregard of the treaty he had entered into. He suddenly marched against Arryser, a town in the eastern extremity of Cutch, the chief of which was then residing at Anjar, under the protection of the resident, and engaged through his mediation in the amicable settlement of some disputes between himself and the durbar. Captain M'Murdo remonstrated in the most forcible manner with the Rao on the injustice of his conduct; reminded him that the Honourable Company had become, in virtue of the treaty, the mediator between him and the Wagur Zumeendars—that Kishan Singh, the chief of Arryser, had been called to Anjar, at his Highness's own request, to adjust all differences; and ended his communication in these words:—"Should you be determined to destroy Arryser, be guided by your own pleasure; but in so doing, there will be no termination from entirely throwing off all connection with the British government."

This intimation passed unnoticed by the Rao who, contrary to every advice except that of Tal-

kur Mohunjee, and his confederates, continued to carry on the siege of Arrysier; and it was only after the expiration of two months, when he found that fort likely to baffle all his attempts, that he again thought of adopting a conciliatory tone towards Captain M'Murdo. He then addressed a letter to that officer, filled with general expressions of friendship towards himself and his government, without referring in any way to the communications made to him regarding his late proceedings; but this step, could it at any time have been effectual, was now too late: for the treaty between the governments had in the interim been suspended; and the Marquis of Hastings had proclaimed Rao Bharmuljee a public enemy, and had given instructions to proceed to the extremity of war against him. The object of his Lordship had been to effect the establishment of a government in Cutch, disposed to maintain the relations with the British power in India, fixed by the treaty of 1816; and as it was hopeless to expect this from a prince of Rao Bharmuljee's character and conduct, orders were issued to accept the spontaneous and long proffered co-operation of the Jharejahs for his dethronement, as well as to request that body of noblemen to elevate to the musnud whomsoever they considered the lawful heir to that dignity. To give full effect to these instructions, a British army was forthwith assembled, under the command of Sir William Grant Keir, at Anjar, where it was joined by Visrajee, the two Pragjees, Allyajee, and My

aminyee, the five principal Jharejah chiefs in Cutch, who expressed their readiness and anxiety to co-operate in the measures to be adopted.

The Rao, who had during this interval entered into a compromise with the chief of Arryser, quickly returned to Bhooj, where he was seized with a violent illness. He was consequently unable himself to make any preparations, or give orders in person, but his partizans and favourites collected a considerable force, and on the approach of the British army to the capital, some skirmishing took place. Captain M^cMurdo then intimated to Bharmuljee the intention of his government to organize anew the affairs of Cutch in concert with the Jharejah Bhyaud, and called on him either to stand by the consequences of resistance, or to surrender himself, promising, in the event of his adopting the latter alternative, that he should meet with safety and consideration. This proposal was not attended to till the Hill Fort of Bhoorjeeah, which overlooks the city of

of British troops. Every respect was paid to him consistently with the safety of his person, and the kindest attention shown to his health, which, from constant intemperance, and his recent indisposition, was now so completely broken, that he was scarcely able to walk or articulate.

A few days after his surrender, Rao Bharmuljee was formally deposed, and placed in a palace

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built by Futteh Mahommed, which was selected for his residence. The Jharejah chiefs were then left entirely to themselves to choose his successor ; and it was generally expected that the election would have been in favour of the infant son of the murdered Prince Ladoba ; but, strange as it may seem, after a perusal of these pages, the only son of Bharmuljee, a child of three years of age, received the unanimous votes of the Bhyaud, and was accordingly raised to the throne by the name of Rao Dessul. The minister, Luckmadass, is understood to have secured, by his influence, this decision in favour of the offspring of his fallen master ; an act of disinterestedness and forgiveness of injuries, which is highly creditable, when it is recollected that his own life was often in imminent danger from the violence and cruelty of the Rao, and that his property had been seized by the orders of that now unhappy prince. But Luckmadass, and many others with whom I have conversed on this topic, appear even then to have viewed Bharmuljee rather as the weak and infatuated minion of a base and profligate party, from which it was impossible to detach him, than as a man by nature cruel and tyrannical ; and the minister's hostility against him seems to have been much softened at the crisis of his fall. Necessary as was his dethronement, several of the Jharejahs, acting from the same impression, still wished, after that decided step, that the government should be carried on in his name ; and when they found that the proposal was objected to, they evinced their respect for his feelings and misfor-

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tunes, by entreating that kindness should be shown him in his confinement, and that the succession should remain in his family. The election of Bhayaud proved in the end more fortunate if it had fallen on the weakly child of Ladoo (whom, however, they declared the next hereditary) as he died a few weeks after, and the race of Bhayjee Bawa, the legitimate branch of the royal family of Cutch, became extinct.

The next requisite step towards the settlement of affairs, was the appointment of a regency, to carry on the government during the minority of his Highness Rao Desul, and the Jharejahs were again requested to nominate a sufficient number of persons for the purpose. Their choice fell on Jharejahs Visrajee of Hoha, and Petrajee of Nanpurcha, the two most powerful chiefs in Cutch, Godowjee, a Rajpoot Brahmin, the minister Luck-British resident was also included, but as the object of the Governor General was to render Cutch, as far as possible, an independent state, the arrangement was at first objected to, and it was only through the earnest solicitations of the Jharejah Bhayaud, combined with those of the existing members of the regency, that his lordship at length consented to the appointment of Captain W. Murdo as president of the latter body.

The measures which had been adopted at Bhay gave satisfaction generally to all classes throughout the country, and no longer

any unwillingness to acknowledge the new Rao and the authority of the regency, except Luckput Bunder, which was garrisoned by Arabs, of whose submission doubts were for some time entertained, but it finally surrendered without any military operations being undertaken against it. Matters being now settled on a firm basis, the regency proceeded to correct the innumerable abuses in every department of the state, and to discharge the useless and expensive levies of troops which Bharmuljee had maintained. A British force was subsidized for the defence of the country and the support of the government; and the honour of guarding the Rao's palace was given up entirely to the Jharejahs, to the exclusion of the low-born wretches whom the late Rao had introduced to that responsible duty.

The tyranny and injustice of Rao Bharmuljee had scarcely been crushed, and a new and better order of things introduced through the means of the British government, when the hand of Providence seemed to join in depriving Cutch of some of the instruments of cruelty. A violent shock of an earthquake, attended with some extraordinary circumstances, levelled with the dust nearly all the walled towns in the country, and anticipated an intention, which had often been conceived, of dismantling some of these nests of discontent and treason. The desolation which ensued can scarcely be imagined. In Bhooj alone, seven thousand houses were rent to their foundations, and twelve hundred persons buried in the ruins. Anjar suffered equally in proportion, and

benefits of the alliance, we must not omit, however, the grand victory in favour of humanity, in the abolition of infanticide; a horrid practice, which it has been our object, ever since our connexion with Cutch and Kattiwar, to put a stop to, and which we have certainly succeeded in diminishing in these countries.

If we take into consideration the dreadful state of affairs, which had existed for years before we entered Cutch, we must conclude, that the new arrangements were entirely in favour of that kingdom; for had not the British government interfered, and the strong arm of power, in this instance upheld by justice, been stretched out to rescue that unhappy country from confusion and anarchy, it must soon have ceased to be a state; and it would either have fallen into the iron grasp of the military despots of Sind, or, if these had been excluded, Cutch would have become a prey, as before, to its own numerous petty tyrants. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive in what excesses the profligacy and imbecility of the government, and, we may add, the general depravity of the people of this wretched province, with whom bloodshed and treason had become as "household words," might have ended.

POSTSCRIPT, 15th June 1829.—Since the period at which our narration closes, Cutch has continued to enjoy all the blessings of English rule. Disturbance has at intervals existed, but when serious, it has always been the result of famine,

or causes of a similar nature, which no human government could control. The rains of 1823 and 1824 failed entirely, and the misery which this occasioned in a country solely dependent on the heavens for water may be conceived. Many of the inhabitants emigrated into Guzerat, and returned after the season of scarcity was over while others less perceable, crossed into Parkhur and Sind, where, combining with military mercenaries from these countries, and adventurers from the neighbouring provinces, they formed themselves into band^s; and made incursions into Cutch, several of the villages of which they plundered and destroyed. The more favourable season of 1825, together with the new and less oppressive system in the collection of the Rao's revenue, which was at that time introduced by the request of the regency, under the superintendence of the assistant resident, had the effect of putting an end to the outrages of the plunderers, most of whom had been forced by hunger to adopt their lawless proceedings, and on the re-appearance of plenty returned quietly to their native fields, which, with a few exceptions, the lenity of the durbar allowed them to retain unmolested.

The protection afforded to these lawless depredators, and to others of the same description, in the territories of the Sind government, has brought us at different times into collision with the Amceers, and we have been forced on two occasions (1820 and 1825,) to assemble large bodies of troops in Cutch, in order to subdue these chiefs in-

to a maintenance of their treaties. By a new agreement concluded between the British and Cutch governments in 1822, Anjar and its dependencies were restored to the Rao, on his consenting to pay to us yearly the estimated revenue, viz. eighty-eight thousand rupees; making the entire sum we annually receive from his Highness to amount to two lacs, eighty-eight thousand rupees. From the famine which has been mentioned and other causes, this subsidy has been frequently ill paid, sometimes even remitted, and altogether has proved totally inadequate to support the heavy expences which have been entailed on us by our connexion with Cutch. Our government, it is true, have gained this province as a frontier; but its advantages in that respect are even doubtful; while, from its being a constant and unsatisfactory drain on our finances, the evils arising from the alliance have been great and positive. On this subject, however, it becomes not me to enlarge.

Of the persons alluded to in the foregoing narrative, some further mention may be interesting. Captain M'Murdo died soon after the treaty of 1819 was concluded,—much too soon for his country, and to the regret equally of the European and native community in Cutch, of which province he was the deliverer. He expired, and was buried at Burrunwao, near Palanswa, in Wagur, where his tomb is carefully protected by the inhabitants, and is an object of veneration, to which persons still make pilgrimages from a distance. Surely an amiable man need seek no higher re-

ward than this for his exertions. His Highness Rao Desul has now attained the age of thirteen years, and promises to fulfil the expectations of his subjects to the utmost. He has acquired a knowledge of the English language, from the instructions of the Reverend Mr Gray, the chaplain at Bhooj who has also instilled into his youthful mind a taste for astronomy and some other sciences.

His father, the Ex Rao Bharmuljee, still continues a prisoner. The unhappy man has not yet attained the age of thirty four, after having passed ten years of his life in confinement. When I first saw him, five years ago, he was a wretched miserable wretch, still in Lutteh Mahommed's palace, and, from the period of his dethronement up to that time, had never been allowed to see his son, nor, I believe, any of the members of his family. Colonel Pottinger, however, who came to Bhooj is resident in 1825, and who, to the credit of his feelings,

“Pitied child and parent separated
By the stern mandate of unfeeling law,

determined to ameliorate

Since then he has occupied spacious apartments, elegantly fitted up in his son's palace, where, though still under a guard of British troops, he is allowed every liberty consistently with his safe custody. He is even permitted to go out twice a week,

when he chooses to take an airing, accompanied by a European officer and a few Sepahis.* His time is chiefly passed in the society of his son the present Rao, in whose lessons he takes great interest, and for whom he entertains the strongest personal attachment. In the placid and dignified deportment of this unfortunate prince, none could now recognize the treacherous murderer, and the cruel despot who inflicted such accumulated miseries on his subjects. He is temperate, even to a degree; and his contrition, for the murder of his cousin, is believed to be heartfelt and sincere. It has, however, evidently affected his conscience frequently; and, with the view of atoning for his crime, he, in the year 1827, sent the ashes of Ladoba, at a great expense, under the charge of a body of Brahmins, to the holy city of Benares, to be consigned, with appropriate ceremonies, to the waters of the Ganges. Such are the uses of adversity, which has not failed to exert its chastening effect upon Rao Bharmuljee. I should not omit to mention, that the remains of Rao Rahiden have also been lately transferred to the same sacred city, to expiate his apostacy from the faith of his forefathers, and the many horrors which, as a Mahommedan enthusiast, he brought upon his country.

Kesser Byhee, the sister of Rao Bharmuljee, was eventually married to the Nawab of Joonaghur, in Kattiwar, at whose court she died, it is

* Sir John Malcolm, on his visit to Bhooj in March 1830, at the request of the native government, ordered the guard to be entirely removed from the Ex-Rao Bharmuljee.

said, by unfair means. The natives of Cutch have a story, that her death was occasioned by poison inserted into her slippers. On the conclusion of the first treaty, Mahommed Meyan Sotah, and Sewary Hunraj, who were obliged to disgorge immense sums of money which they had appropriated to their own use, fell into insignificance. They both died about the middle of the year 1818 it was supposed by poison. Hussain Meyan still lingers out a disreputable existence. He pays an annual visit to Bhooj, the scene of his father's disgrace, and his own dishonour, while his poverty and debility denote the ruin of his family.

Mahommed had some other sons, but none of them are known in Cutch. His daughter, whose person Rao Bharmuljee violated has sunk to the lowest state of prostitution.

After the treaty of 1819, the affairs of Cutch fell chiefly to be managed by the British resident, the minister Luckmidas, and Ruttunji Jetta, the Bharejah members of the regency declining for the most part, to interfere. The most important of the latter, Virjee of Roha, was detected in treasonable communication with some rebels in 1823 and was expelled from the administration, and banished from the capital, another chief being elected in his stead. His expulsion was followed in 1827 by the disgrace of Ruttunji, who was found to be a defaulter to the state as well as implicated in several mean and dishonourable transactions, which in the end overwhelmed himself and the whole family of Soonderjee So-

jee in ruin, and lost them the esteem and confidence of the British government. Rao Dessul begins to show an interest in public affairs, and frequently holds durbars; but the chief management remains as yet in the hands of the resident and Luckmadass; and although the latter was believed formerly to be an actor in some of the melancholy scenes we have described, it is but justice to say, that his conduct now is marked by integrity. I may add, that he is the only individual at present in Cutch, who, from his birth and general respectability, is entitled to the elevation he has attained.

APPENDIX

No. I.

COLONEL POTTINGER'S ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NAVIGATION OF THE INDUS

1. It appearing that the arrangements made for opening the Indus as a channel of commerce, are very imperfectly understood, the following summary of them has been drawn up for general information

2. The perpetual treaties made with the governments of Hyderabad and Khyrpoor in April 1839, provided for that portion of the Indus which flows through Sindh being thrown open to all merchants and traders, with the three following reservations, evidently dictated by the fears or jealousy of the rulers of that province

1st. That no military stores should be conveyed by that route

2d That no armed vessels should proceed by it.

3d. That no British (European) merchants should settle in Sindh, " but shall come & retu-

sion may require, and having transacted their business, shall return to India."

3. A supplementary treaty, of the same date as the above, stipulated, that the Sinde government should furnish a statement of duties, which was to be examined by officers of the British government versed in such matters; that if the duties were found to be fair and equitable, they should be brought into operation, but that, should they be considered too high, the Ameers of Sinde were to reduce them.

4. In conformity with this agreement, a statement of duties was furnished and examined, when they were found to be preposterously high, amounting in some cases to upwards of cent. per cent. on the price of goods, and in none to less than half that charge. This statement, it is to be observed, had been evidently fabricated for the occasion, though asserted to have been extracted from the old records of the times of the emperors (of Delhi), and was doubtless brought forward by the rulers of Sinde as a ruse, by which they perhaps hoped to render nugatory the agreement for opening the Indus, to which they had most reluctantly acceded.

5. Inquiry was next set on foot with a view to fixing a tariff, which should be just towards the states possessing territories on the banks of the river, and at the same time hold forth that encouragement which was clearly required to induce merchants to adopt the new route. After much discussion and correspondence, some portions of which latter were made public at the

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time, the conclusion arrived at was, "That it was preferable to any modification that could be devised of a custom duty, that the toll vary with the various capacities of boats, and that the latter, as shutting out might be fixed upon a calculation of their average capacity, and that the toll be exacted on every occasion for dispute connected with the dues of the governments," was the best.

G. The next questions for decision were, "What average capacity of boats would be the most proper amount of toll?" and "What would be the proper principles to be adopted?"

6. The next questions for decision were the "proper average capacity of boats," and the "proper amount of toll." The former was fixed, on principles that will be explained in the sequel, at thirty tatta khurnars of 1882 English pounds each, or forty-seven furruckahid maunds. "The proper amount of toll" was a point of more difficulty, lightly on the more valuable articles of export and import, including every kind of cloth, would press heavily on bulky articles of low price, in which the greater part of the trade, both in quantity and value, will consist." The result was, that a toll of nineteen tatta rupees per khurwar, or five hundred and seventy miles east of from the sea to Roopur, thirty miles east of Loodhiana, was deemed the highest that could be imposed with a due encouragement of the trade, and of this sum it was proposed to assign to the Sindh government right rupees a khurwar. 7. A communication to this effect having been made to the Ameers of Sindh, they received a strong feeling of repugnance, which

a lengthened negociation that was only brought to a final close by a threat of coercion, in case they refused to ratify what they had [in the course of the negociation] repeatedly and formally agreed to, both in writing and by messages.

8. A third treaty, which has been distinguished from those that preceded it by the name of the "Toll Treaty," was accordingly concluded in October 1834. Its provisions are briefly these: "That a toll of two hundred and forty rupees shall be levied on all boats, whatever may be their size, or the nature of their cargo, within the territories subject to the Sinde governments, namely, from the sea to Mithunkote; that this toll shall be levied both on boats ascending and descending the river at the point at which the merchandize is transferred to the river, from the sea-boats, and vice versa, and at no other place; that no extra demands shall on any plea or pretence be made on any boats going up or coming down the river; that goods, of whatever nature, or however small or great the quantity, landed from any boat, shall instantly become subject to the regulations of the country, as regards customs; that the toll now fixed is to be understood to be a remuneration to the governments for the protection to be afforded to merchants frequenting the route; that a native agent on the part of the British government shall reside constantly at the mouths of the river, and that the governor-general's agents for Sinde shall have the power of deputing one of his assistants to that quarter, at any time such a step seems to him to be required.

9 As soon as the toll treaty with Sindé was completed, its terms were likewise proposed to and accepted by the other two Powers [exclusive of the British government] interested in the arrangement, and the remainder of the toll was divided as follows —

To Buchawul Khan of Buchawulpoor,—		
	Rs 106 12	2½
To Runjeet Singh,	67 15	0
To the British Government, —	155 1	0

10 In the early part of this year definitive arrangements were made and promulgated. Agreeable to them, the Governor General's agent for the affairs of Sindé (Colonel Pottinger) has the general superintendence of the southern portion of the Indus, lying within the territories of the Amiers of Sindé, and the political agent at Loodhiana (Captain Wade) of the remainder, north of Sindé, including the Punjnad and Sutledge, as far as Roopur. A third officer (Lieutenant Mackeson) is stationed at Mithunkote, nearly opposite to which town the Punjnad or united waters of the five rivers of the Punjab fall into the Indus, with the official designation of "British agent for the navigation of the Indus and Sutledge." Three native agents have also been appointed. Of these one is stationed at the mouth of the river, where the cargoes will be transferred from the river to the sea boats, and vice versa. A second resides at Hyderabad and the third at Hurrekee, in the Punjab where the Sutledge and Beah unite.

11. Lieutenant Mackeson's range extends from Roopur to the sea, throughout the whole navigation, and from the central position which he occupies, his appointment is equally calculated to give confidence to the dealers, and to afford them speedy assistance and redress, in case of necessity.

12. The duties of the native agent at the mouths of the river will be best comprehended by the subjoined extracts from his instructions.

PARA. 3. "You will receive with these orders a copy of the toll treaty. From it you will perceive, that the sum of two hundred and forty rupees, of the currency of Tattah, is to be levied on all boats, without reference to their burthen, or the nature of their cargoes, proceeding up the river, or coming down, and you are accordingly to realize that sum from each boat on departing or arriving, as the case may be, and pay it over to the Ameer's agent, who may be empowered to receive it, and from whom you will invariably take receipts.

PARA. 4. "Passports are sent to you, into which you are to insert the name and burden of the boat; the name of the Tindal; her destination, and by whom she is hired. You will also obtain a list of the cargo, with its estimated value, shipped on each boat, and attach this list to the passport; but you are on no account to think of opening and examining the goods, which would cause delay and trouble to the merchants."

PARA. 5. "Disputes will of course sometimes arise amongst the merchants and their servants,

and the boatmen, coolies, &c. about the bunders. It will be part of your duty to settle these, and when subjects of the Sinde government are parties in them, you will do so in concert with the Ameer's officers, otherwise you will do it alone."

PARA 6 Prohibits the receipt of any presents or bribes on pain of instant dismissal.

PARA 7 "Should any occasion for a reference to the Ameers at Hyderabad arise, you are to draw up a short and plain statement of the case, and send it with a letter to the British native agent at that city, who will obtain the Ameer's answer, and transmit it to you."

PARA 8 Directs that every boat departing on the upward voyage shall be furnished with a note to the native agent at Hyderabad, and that a report of her departure shall be made to Lieutenant Mackeson, and all orders issued by that gentleman strictly obeyed.

PARA 11 Authorises the agent, in case of emergency, to write to the Governor General's agent for Sinde by special messengers.

13 "The native agent at Hyderabad is directed to see that no one molests or stops any boat from the moment she quits the salt water bunders till she passes the Sinde frontier, to obtain orders from the Ameers to their officers to protect the boats passing up and down, and to allow no person to make any demand, however small, from them. He is further directed, in the event of any boat being detained (by accident or otherwise), plundered, or injured, to repair in person to the spot, to call on the Sinde officers to aid in

recovering the property, and securing the offenders in cases of plunder, and afterwards to draw up a detailed statement of the affair, and to transmit it to the Governor-General's agent for Sinde, before any direct demand shall be made on the Sinde government for payment of losses, 'though you will of course let the Ameers understand that they will be held responsible.'"

14. "The orders to the native agent at Huree-kee are *mutatis mutandis* to the same purport as the above, and the share of the toll leviable on the upper division of the river (beyond Sinde) is also only payable at one station, by which every pretence for delay is obviated. It having been found, however, that boats will occasionally only pass a part of the way up or down the river, a proposal has been very recently made to the Ameers, that such boats should pay in the following proportions:—

From the Sea to Hyderabad, one fourth, or	60 Rs.
From the Sea to Sehwan, one half, or	120 „
From the Sea to Khyrpoor, Bukkur, or Shikarpoor, three-fourths, or	180 „
From the Sea to Mithunkote,	240 „

'This scale will of course be reversed on the downward voyage. The Ameers have consented to it; and it is supposed a similar rule will be made to the northward of Sinde.

groundlessness of their apprehensions, and will then readily come into whatever plan the British government may suggest for fostering and augmenting the trade. It may also be here remarked, that the latter power has, at any moment it pleases to exert it, the means of compelling the rulers of Sind to conform to its wishes, and this too without a necessity for moving a single regiment, a fact of which the Ameers must now be fully aware.

17. The following extracts of notes, chiefly relating to that part of the Indus lying within Sind, will possibly be of some interest to speculators.

“ The Ameers possess altogether on the right bank of the Indus, an extent of territory in length from the sea to Mithunkote, of five hundred and fifty-two miles, as follows :—

From the sea to Ooplanee	34 miles.
Ooplanee to Tattah	29 „
Tattah to Hyderabad	72 „
Hyderabad to Sehwan	108 „
Sehwan to Bukkur	174 „
Bukkur to Mithunkote	135 „

“ On the left bank, the extent is 27 miles less, it being only one hundred and eight miles from Bukkur to Subzulkote, where the dominions of Buhawal Khan commence.

“ The state of the banks of the river are sufficient proof of the discouragement that intercourse up and down the river labours under. They are in most places covered down to the

very edge of the water with thick jungle and trees, which render tracking not only most difficult, but now and then impossible, and the first obvious step for take, would be done at a very

50 paces broad, agreeable to the nature of the soil, along both sides of the river."

"This simple operation would remove at once one half the natural obstacles to the *upwards* navigation. The *downwards* navigation is quite independent of the state of the banks, as all that is required in it is to keep the vessels in the strongest part of the current, which is easily done by occasionally rowing, or setting a lug sail on a small mast in the forepart of the boat."

"The usual depth in the stream was from four to six fathoms, nor was it sounded in any spot where it was less than the former, whilst in some it amounted to ten and twelve; many of the very minor branches were
war
are

"To ascend the Indus with steam-boats, or to descend it without them, all seasons and states of the river will be found to afford the greatest facilities; but for trading vessels, depending on the winds, the best period to quit the seaports (Dharjee, Shah, Ghorz, &c. Bander) is the end of March, or early in April when the south-westerly gale which prevails the Monsoon have set in on the coast of India, and appear to subside

the course of the river, at all events, as high up as Bukkur, thereby ensuring rapid progress."

"With regard to *tracking*, the months of December, January, and February, strictly speaking, are the most proper, because the river is then at its lowest; but the cold northerly winds (which often blow very violently) are so keen and cutting, that the boatmen neither can nor will work as they do when the weather is milder; and although the rising of the river, which usually commences in April, may render tracking more laborious, a boat will then make more in a day than in the winter."

"It must be clearly and explicitly understood, that no sea boat with a valuable cargo should attempt to enter or leave the mouths of the Indus after the 15th of March,* and it would be better to be from a month to fifteen days sooner. It is true that common boats do ply between Sind and Kutch, even in April, with cargoes of rice, grinding stones, &c.; but many are wrecked, and the experiment is dangerous. The season for ingress and egress to the Indus depends on the backwardness or otherwise of the south-west monsoon, but it may be taken to begin between the middle and end of September in common years."

"Only two or three men belong to each river as a fixed establishment. All the trackers are hired by the trip, and fed while it lasts, an arrangement which is obviously indispensable, because,

* This, of course, alludes to boats coming from or going to sea.

for days together, the boats bring up in the evening, far from any village. This system is, however, no trouble. The necessary supply is had

“ The imports and exports of Sind are so fully stated in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, for 1830-1831, (page 227,) that reference can be had to that publication. Perhaps, for the present day, the enumeration of articles is too extensive, but, generally speaking, is correct. The better sort of calicoes of Sind are now quite superseded by the manufacture of Great Britain, and the celebrated loongoes (silk cloths) of Tattah are only made to order ”

“ Although the Ameers of Sind evinced so much repugnance to the opening of the Indus, they have more recently proved that they are by no means blind to the advantages of encouraging traders to settle in their territories, and the system of remissions which they follow, (like every native government) is so undefined and extensive, that it seems a matter of some doubt, whether the duties *actually* paid in Sind, are higher than those of the surrounding countries ”

September 27, 1835

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No. II.

PRACTICAL NOTES ON THE TRADE TO THE INDUS,
AND THE NAVIGATION OF THAT RIVER.

BY SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.

1. A commercial communication has this year commenced on the Indus; in accordance with the treaty, boats have both begun to ascend and descend the stream. It seems desirable, therefore, to record some of the earliest information of a practical nature regarding the river, the vessels on it, and the trade itself.

2. It is imperatively necessary to adhere to the mould of the boats which are now in use on the river Indus. Science may in time improve them, but disappointment will, I believe, follow all attempts at it, till further experience is obtained. A boat with a keel is not adapted to the river Indus.

3. Though the Indus is accessible after November, the labour of tracking up against the stream is at that time great. The river is then, and for the three succeeding months, about its lowest, which prevents the boatmen from seeking the still water, and drives them to the more rapid

part of the current. The northerly winds, which blow till February, make the task more than ever irksome, and extra trackers are required. The treaty, too, encourages large boats more than small ones, the toll on both being alike, and these unwieldy vessels require many hands, which adds to the expense.

4 After February, the voyage from the sea to Hyderabad, which would previously have occupied nearly a month, may be performed in five days, the expense of trackers is avoided, the river has less dangers, and the merchant thus saves his time, labour, and interest. The swell of the Indus does not prevent vessels ascending to the Punjab, for at that time the southerly winds prevail.

5 It is these southerly winds which give to the Indus, in its navigation, advantages over the Ganges. The course of the one river is about east and west, that of the other north and south. Use must therefore be made of this natural advantage to make merchandize profitable by the route of the Indus.

6 The obstacles to navigating the Indus at its mouth are, no doubt, great, but they have been magnified. Above Calcutta, for a considerable part of the year, there is no greater depth in the rivers Bhagiruttee and Jellingee, which lead from the Hoogly to the Ganges, than two and three feet. In the Indus a greater depth than this will always be found somewhere, to lead from the sea-port to the great river. This, then, is a decided advantage in the inland navigation, though the

Indus has not a mouth accessible to large ships like the Ganges. It proves too that a portage, or even a canal, (were it possible to cut one) is unnecessary, as it must never be forgotten that the largest boats of the river draw but four feet when heavily laden.*

7. Much stress has been laid upon a place being fixed for unshipping the cargoes of the sea-going into the river-going boats. Anxiety on this point is useless, for it will vary every two or three years, and the utmost reliance may be placed on the people now in the trade. In 1831, the mouth leading to Vikkur had four fathoms of water; in 1835, it had but one and a half in most places, and in one but six feet, terminating in a flat. The estuary was also quite changed. Sea boats *can always ascend one mouth* of the Indus, and the navigators find it out without difficulty.

8. From four to five hundred sea-going boats sailed out of the port of Vikkur alone last year. They are the common boats of western India, drawing from nine to twelve feet of water, and which convey all the coasting trade of the country, valuable as it is. If traders will not place reliance upon these boats, experimental vessels for

* I shall say nothing of the kind of steamer for the Indus, farther than to express my belief that the present description of vessel is well suited. Lieut. J. Wood, of the Indian Navy, is the first officer who has ever navigated the Indus by steam, and his success merits notice, since he reached Hyderabad *without even the assistance of a local pilot*. He has turned his attention to the nature of the build of the "dondie" of Sindé, with its advantages and disadvantages. If Lieut. Wood's observations on this subject are published, they will, I think, be found useful, and prove creditable to the author.

the Indus, must, of course, be made at their risk.

9 In the navigation upwards, after leaving sea, a trader will experience little or no inconvenience in a boat of the country. Let him make his agreement with the proprietor of the vessel and avoid, if possible, engaging one of the vessels belonging to the Ameers (of which there are about forty) and which, it seems, may be had for hire. If he does so, the agreement will be better fulfilled, since the trade in India, as in Egypt, will receive but little benefit by the rulers sharing in it. If this practice is ever carried to any great extent by the Ameers, it will be necessary to try and stop it. For the present, there are so few boats, that it is best to put up with it.

10 The depth of the river is, doubtless, variable—in some places great, in others less, but this is of very small consequence to flat-bottomed vessels. Sand banks are numerous, and would perplex an European navigator, but the native pilots have a good eye, and manage to avoid them. In the Delta there are also sand banks, but the stream there are much narrower and deeper, and are free from them, though I only speak comparatively. These sand banks are a marked and regular feature of the Indus, and seem to be caused by back water or eddies. A dry bed of Indus shows that they rise up without sign, but that there is always a deep channel—sometimes intricate—through them. In December I descended the Indus from Hyderabad, and though then near its lower, the

soundings in the great river were never under two fathoms, or eleven feet, and the boatmen did not always keep in the strength of the stream. While in the river we never grounded; and many heaves of the lead gave five and eight fathoms, but two, and two and a half, predominated. In the cold season, the Indus, in the Delta, shrinks into a narrow and deep channel, which disappoints a stranger who has heard of the magnitude of this river; many of the inferior branches even dry up.

The natives attribute this to cold. The evaporation is great. The channel of the Sata, which supplies most of the branches in the Delta, had this year, at the last sounding which I took, eight fathoms; but less than half that gives about its usual depth. It was about four hundred yards broad. This is a feature more favourable to navigation than otherwise; yet this branch must be entered by a circuitous channel, and is not accessible to boats from the sea, though, in the end of September last, the water out from it was fresh in a depth of seven fathoms, and a Cutch boat filled up its tanks from it.

12. It appears that there is much error abroad regarding the trade on the Indus. Enterprise will doubtless do much to *create and improve* commerce; but, for the present, it is a trade *by the Indus* and not *on the Indus*. It is, in fact, a transit trade to western and central Asia; a line, however, which ought to supersede that by Sonmeeanee to Candahar, and by Bownugger to Pallee and Upper India. If the mercantile com-

munity hope for any increased consumption of British goods in *Sinde* itself, they will be disappointed, the time may come, but, at present, the bulk of the people are miserably poor, and there are really no purchasers.

13 The Courts of Hyderabad and Khyrpoor, however, will, no doubt, take a good part of some of the investments, and both these chiefs and their families have already sued for a first sight of the goods that have reached *Sinde*. This might appear objectionable in another country and under other circumstances, but the treaty will protect all traders, and they need not fear imposition or oppression. A few of the Beloochee chiefs have also expressed their readiness to purchase, and the good work is in a state of progression.

14 To the exports, by way of the Indus, it is unnecessary to allude, as they have been fully spoken of, and we have now no additional particulars of a practical nature to communicate. As the price of wages is, in most if not in all countries, regulated by the price of grain, the effect of opening the river Indus on Bombay and Western India, ought to be most important. The immense advantages which the great body of the population will derive, I leave others to estimate, but I may affirm that the European community ought, by it, to be able to bring down their expenses nearly to the standard of the Bengal presidency.

ALFRED BURNES

5 vol., 12th December 1833

No. III.

ON THE COMMERCE OF SHIKARPOOR AND UPPER
SINDE.

BY SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.

Shikarpoor is a town of first importance to the Indus trade, and, it may be said, to that of Asia. This does not arise from any superiority in its home manufactures, but from extensive money transactions, which establish a commercial connexion between it and many remote marts. Shikarpoor stands near the northern frontier of the Sind territories, 28 miles directly west of the Indus, and about the same distance from the fort of Bukkur. Towards the North, the Sind boundary extends to Rozan, on the road to Candahar and Kelat, by the well-known pass of Bolan, so that the merchant always speaks of Shikarpoor and Dera Ghazee Khan as the gates of Khorasan, by which name they here distinguish the kingdom of Cabool. In every direction, commercial roads conduct the trader to Shikarpoor, but the communication is entirely carried on by land, though there is but one sentiment among the merchants of the town, great and small, that their

profits and interests might be vastly promoted by water communication

2 Shikarpoor is not a town of any antiquity, though there has always been a place of note in its neighbourhood. Alor, Shukkur Bukker, Korce, all follow each other, and the present town has succeeded Lukkee, a place 8 miles south of it, which was held by the ancestors of the present chief of Bhawalpoor, who were expelled by Nadir Shah. It appears to have been built A D 1617. The slope of the country favors its easy irrigation, and the Emperors of Delhi have caused extensive canals to be cut from the Indus. Shikarpoor is supplied with abundance of food, and cheaper than any part of Sindh. The obscure term of "*nour Lukkee Sindh*," I am informed, has reference to this part of the country, that being the amount of revenue, above Sindh proper, derived from the province called Moghullee. Natives of Shikarpoor who have seen British India, generally describe it as capable of being made "a second Bengal." Nadir Shah visited Shikarpoor in his conquest, but its vicinity to countries so much disturbed, prevented its becoming a commercial mart, till the Suddozye princes fixed their authority in it, and its prosperity may be dated from the year 1786, in the reign of Timour Shah, who first established Hindoos in the town, after he had conferred the government of Sindh on the family of the present Ameer. Shikarpoor is the only place in Sindh where that tribe have established a paramount influence, of which the Amirs are as yet had the good sense not to

though Shikarpoor has been subject to Sind for the last 16 years. The revenues and expenses incurred in defending it, are divided between the Hyderabad and Khyrpoor chiefs, the latter having three shares, and the former four.

3. The population of the town exceeds 35,000 souls, but it is to be remembered that there are Hindoos from it scattered all over Asia, who leave their families here, and return in after-life; the inhabitants consist of Hindoos of the Buniya, Lohana, and Bhattea tribes, but Baba Nanuck Seiks compose more than half the number. About one-tenth of the population is Mahomedan, most of whom are Afghans, who receive grants of land or "puttas" as they are called, from the name of the deed, and settled around Shikarpoor in the time of the Dooranees. The town, though surrounded by gardens and trees, is quite open, for a mud wall, which has been allowed to decay, can scarcely be called a defence. There are, however, eight gates. The bazar is extensive, having 884 different shops. It is covered with mats as a shade from the sun, but has no elegance or beauty. The houses are built of sun-dried bricks, lofty and comfortable, but destitute of elegance. The climate is considered very hot and oppressive in the summer, and there are so many stagnant pools around the walls, that it is remarkable the people do not find the place insalubrious, but it is not said to be so. The thermometer had a range of 23 degrees in the middle of April, falling to 59°, and rising to 82°; but we were informed that the season was favourable, and across the Indus

at Khyrpoor the thermometer had already stood at 96°. Water is found at 12 or 15 feet from the surface, but the river has, for three or four years past, flooded large tracts of the neighbourhood. The land revenues around, exclusive of expenses in collection, &c. now average two lacs and a half of rupees per annum, and the duties of the town and customs are farmed for 61,000 rupees, the currency being only inferior by 2 per cent. to the company's rupee. This does not, however, include the whole of the districts which were held by the Afghans, Noushera being under Ladhkhan, and several rich jagheers bestowed on religious persons. The inundation having lately inclined towards Shikarpoor, has also increased its present revenues, probably to half a lac of rupees, but the addition cannot be considered permanent.

4 It will only be necessary to name the towns, at which the Shikarpoor merchants have agents, to judge of the unlimited influence which they can command. Beginning from the west, every place of note from Astracan to Calcutta seems to have a Shikarpooree; thus they are found at Muscat, Bunder Abbas, Kerman, Yezd, Meshid, Astracan, Bokhara, Samarcand, Kokan, Yarkund, Koondooz, Khooboon, Herat Subzwari, Candahar, Ghurni, Cabool, Peshawar, Dera Gharee Khan, Dera Ismael Khan, Bakkur, Leia, Mooltanooch, Bhawalpoor, Umritser, Jeypoor, Bee-career Jaysulmeer, Palce, Mandavee, Bomlay, Hyderabad (Deccan) Hyderabad (Sinde) Cutch, Kelat, Mirzapoor, and Calcutta. The Hir

doos of Astracan, I am informed, have lately been converted to Islam, and within these two years, those of Bokhara have been molested, for the first time, on account of their creed. In all these places, however, a bill may be negotiated, and with most of them, there is a direct trade either from Shikarpoor or one of its subordinate agencies. The business seems, however, to be more of a banking nature than a commerce in goods, but still there is not any great quantity of ready money at Shikarpoor, for there is no mint at which gold or bullion may be coined, and consequently a loss ensues upon its import.

5. The direct trade of the town of Shikarpoor itself is not extensive, its port is Curachee, from which it receives annually,

British goods to the value of.....	Rs. 30,000
Sugar,.....	80,000
Spices, groceries, metals,.....	100,000

Total Rupees, 210,000

Some of the articles reach Shikarpoor by way of Palee, in Marwar, particularly sugar and spices, but British cloth is not sent, for the line of route, from this great emporium, leads higher up the Indus to Bhawalpoor and Mooltan. The duties on this road are as follows,—on articles of bulk 6 Rs. per camel on quitting Shikarpoor, 4 Rs. on the river, 8 Rs. in the Khyrpoor territory, 6 Rs. in Jaysulmeer, making a total of 24, which is doubled, if other than groceries (Kiranu.) At

Palce itself, goods pay ad valorem from 2 to 5 per cent. The road from the sea coast is quite safe, it passes among the hills to Shewun, and after that reaches the plain of Chindka, five or six caravans pass yearly, but 8 or 10 camels even go safely. The expenses of the road are as follows.

Landing at Curichee	5	Rs	per cent.
And at Starting	3	"	ditto
Expenses to Shewun	2½	"	per camel load
At Shewun, duty	24	"	ditto
At Ladhana	7½	"	ditto
At Marce	4	"	ditto
At Shikarpoor	24	"	ditto
<hr/>			
Total 68½ Rs			

exclusive of the duties at Curichee. This does not include the hire of the camels, which is 8 or 9 rupees per head, if laden with cloth, and 6 or 7 with metal or sugar. The duty above given is only leviable on goods, that on sugar and articles taken in bulk is much less, and at Shewun but 11, instead of 24 rupees, and at Shikarpoor but 10 rupees instead of 24. It is very difficult to give an accurate list of these duties, for at Shewun though the levy ought to be 3 rupees, it is compounded for at 24 rupees, by what is called a "mootta" purvaun, which on land is much the same kind of duty as toll by the river. Great merchants only have this advantage. They will not trade till it is promised.

ing at Shikarpoor, likewise, the levy depends much upon the value of the articles, which are taxed by weight, though a camel load of chintz may be passed through the custom-house at rupees 24, each piece of kincob will be taxed perhaps from 1 to 2 rupees. These duties are, therefore, considered oppressive and vexatious, as the bales are opened and examined. Further, if it is intended to send on goods, a second tax of eight rupees on cloth, and five rupees on spices, &c. is exacted on quitting Shikarpoor for the West. The effect of this has been to throw open the road from Candahar, by Kelat, to the sea coast at Sonmееanee from which much of Afghanistan is now supplied, and of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak. The trade from Bombay to Shikarpoor, however, often yields a profit of 20 per cent.

6. From the north, Shikarpoor at present receives the cloth of Multan and Bhawulpoor to an extent of rupees 10,000, but these are for home consumption, and its peculiar trade is with Khorasan, by way of Candahar and Kelat; with the former it communicates, through Bag and Dadur, by the celebrated defile of Bolan, which is passable at all seasons; goods are carried on camels and ponies, and there are three or four caravans annually. The articles consist of madder and other dyes, such as koomba, saffron, cochineal; also silk thread, torquoises, dried fruits, horses, &c. &c., which are valued at from one and a half to two lacs of rupees a year. Some of the silk thread brought to Shikarpoor is

of a very superior description, where it is used in embroidery. It comes from Toorkistan, and is called "Kokanee," and seldom sent lower down the river. Besides it, there is the "Toonee" silk from Karen, the "Duryace" from Khaf, and the "Chilla" from Herat, which are used at Shikarpoor and also sent on to India. The mulberry tree thrives in upper Sindh, and yields a superior fruit, but there are no silkworms, though the climate would probably agree with them. The trade in Feerozees or torques is considerable. As is well known, that beautiful stone is brought from Nishapoor in Persia. It is imported here in its rough state. There are about a dozen shops where they are prepared, after which they are sent on to India. Some Feerozees reach Hindustan by way of Cabool, but the greater number are sent by Shikarpoor, where the import is so extensive, that all classes, rich and poor, have earrings and ornaments made from them, good or bad, of course, according to their circumstances. This trade is valued alone at rupees 50,000 per annum. The trade in horses has declined, and the supply varies. From five to eight hundred

horses which are brought to Shikarpoor are sent to all parts of Sindh, to Khyrpoor and Hyderabad, and sometimes to Bhawalpoor, for there is no steady demand, and no permanent mart. These horses are too well known to require any particular description,—they are in

general undersized and bull necked. In return for these articles, Shikarpoor supplies these places with native cloths, made in the manufacturing districts of Ranceepoor, Gumbat, and Korra, near Khyrpoor, also at Ladkhana. The home manufactures of Shikarpoor itself do not amount to more than 50,000 rupees, of course white and red cloth, and this is consumed in the town. English goods, however, are sometimes purchased by the Afghan merchants, in exchange for their productions, if the market is well stocked—as they may have them cheap, and be saved a journey to Bombay,—but the duties prevent their taking any great quantity, so that they have indigo of Khyrpoor and Oobaro, and prepared hides from Ladkhana and the valley of the Indus, which would, in all probability, be sent down if the road were open. The profits of the trade from Candahar are rated at 40 per cent. and to it at about half that sum. The former was much greater than at present, till the Candahar Sirdars taxed the ducats and gold sent to India as merchandize, a custom, however, which is common in Toorkistan, and which, when we consider the number of merchants who deal largely in money alone throughout Asia, is not so unjust as at first sight may appear.

7. Upper Sinde has resources that have not as yet been developed, and which are even open to the notice of a superficial observer, and require but little impetus to send them forth. Cotton, which has been but little exported hitherto, and bore the value of 21 Rs. per maund, was last

year raised round Shikarpoor to the extent of 10,000 mounds of Lahore, (which is about the same as that of Shikarpoor,) and such is the fit upon it, that a small investment which sent down the Indus to Vikkur as an experiment and which had been purchased at from 8 to 10 rupees per maund of Vikkur, (which is considerably less than that of Shikarpoor,) sold for Rs of Tatta. It was always sent to Ullah Y and Adam Yar, in Lower Sindh, also to Shikarpoor, but it may now, as its cultivation increases, be calculated upon as a regular export to Bombay. The cotton of Lower Sindh is not appreciated, this is considered better, though not of the first kind. It would not be difficult to encourage the cultivation, and perhaps treble the supply, in one sense of the word, there are two crops of cotton in Sindh. The seed is sown in April, and the harvest reaped in July, but the roots are often left in the ground, and sprouting up in the following spring, yield a second crop in May, about a month after the waters of the swell reach the fields. The first kind is called "Native," and the other "Moondar," which are terms merely meaning new and old. The richness of the crop depends altogether on the rise of the Indus, which is not however precarious.

b Opium is reared at Shikarpoor, but has only been cultivated for the last six or eight years. A trial has been made of its export to Bombay, but, as there was no demand, (where,) except what was imported, to prepare it, the article was not approved of, and the speculation failed. It

has been lately sent to *Pallee* in its raw state where its preparation is understood, and from which it is said to be exported at the same price as other opium; linseed has now been sown at Shikarpoor and thrives, so that it is possible hereafter to export it direct. It was formerly received from Marwar and Kelat. I have been informed that the Shikarpoor opium has not the same strength as that of Malwa, and the difference is said to arise from that of *Sinde* being irrigated, which is not the case with the poppy in Malwa(?) Last year, 100 maunds of opium were produced at Shikarpoor, the best near the village of *Marce*. A jureeb of ground, which is 22,500 square feet, about half an acre, yields on an average five seers of opium, the heads being tapped three successive times. In its wet state, its value is about five rupees per seer, but it has much impurity from the scraping of the poppy, &c. in its dry state its value is eight and a half rupee, and sometimes double. It is reaped in April and May, after a four months labour. If it is thought advisable to encourage this trade, it will furnish a very valuable return.

9. The indigo of the Shikarpoor district is not prized as much as that of Khyrpoor and Oobaro, east of the Indus, nor is the cultivation so extensive. A better description of indigo than either is found higher up the river, and will form subject for future notice, but at present, this dye is exported from *Sinde* to the Persian Gulf by *Curachee*, to the extent of 1,500 maunds a year; which, as it now sells, is about the value of a lac

of rupees. It varies in price from 1 riy to 2.25 rupees according to the rise of the river, in which, as with cotton, the crop depends. It is now selling at fifty seven Rs. if the last kind per maund. This year a demand for it beyond the river, through that was productive, has arisen, and many thousands of it have been brought by land from the poor in the Daoolpootra country, and sent, by Jaysulmeer, to Pallee. The indigo of this country is not rival that of Bengal, or as it is called, "Lurhung" (English indigo), but it is only about half the price, and is said to have some advantage in its colour of a more fixed kind. It is exported to Candahar but Khorasan derives its indigo from Mooltan, where it is better. The indigo for Arabia and Persia may very easily be taken off by the Indus at a great profit, with a small loss.

10

Sindia

merely one kind of the tamul is of this kind, it is not produced in all soils where the plant grows. In the district of Board, it is produced in great abundance and to the extent of 100000 in 100000 maunds, and can be profitably exported to the war, Pallee and Larmer. It is now selling for two rupees per maund. The plant is very common near Mooltan. Khorasan derives its indigo from Mooltan. It is a plant that grows in a soil of a sandy nature, but a rich better kind is not found by us. (a) A small amount of the indigo is taken off by the other so that they are of a small quantity.

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of rupees. It varies in price from forty to sixty rupees according to the rise of the river, on which, as with cotton, the crop depends. It is now selling at fifty seven Rs. of the best kind per maund. This year a demand for it beyond the crop, though that was productive, has arisen, and ninety camel loads of it have been brought by land from Khan poor in the Doodpootra country, and sent, by Jy-ulmeer, to Pallee. The indigo of Sindh can not rival that of Bengal or as it is called "Neeli Lurhung" (English indigo), having much more impurity, but it is only about half the price, and is said to have some advantages in imparting colour of a more fixed kind. It is exported to Candahar, but Khorasan derives its chief supply from Mooltan, where it is better. The supply for Arabia and Persia may very easily be drawn off by the Indus, at a great profit, with a toll so light as that which has been imposed.

10 Besides indigo there is an article in Upper Sindh called "Sakur," used as a red dye. It is merely the knot of the timurisk shrub, but it is not produced in all soils where that plant grows. In the district of Boordgah it is procured in great abundance, and to the extent of 1,500 or 2,000 maunds, and can be profitably exported to Marwar, Pallee, and Lower Sindh. It sells here for two rupees per maund. The article is procurable near Mooltan. Koomba or "Kussoomba," which is a flower, a plant that yields a rich dye is also reared, but a much better kind is imported from Cabool, a seer of the one being equal to two of the other, so that they are often mixed and adul-

terated. This *Age* is spoken of as the second saffron.

11. But Upper Sind is much favoured by the inundation of the river: for the last four years the Indus has saturated the country around Shikarpoor, by throwing off its superfluous waters from Boordghah to Ladhana. This district was called "Wahnee," from having no water, but it is now said to yield nearly a lac of rupees annually to Government. It extends seventy or eighty miles from Ghonspoor to Ladhana, and varies in breadth from five to six miles: without this natural scattering of the water, it would not be an arduous task to keep the Sind canal open for six months, at present the town is to be approached by it for four months by the largest boats. At Shikarpoor, in April 1837, wheat was selling at fifteen rupees per khurwar, while at Hyderabad it cannot be bought at less than twenty-four, and at the mouth of the Indus it yields forty-five. This is not speculation, for it has been tried, and as the toll is leviable on bulk, all other grain may be exported from one part of the Indus to another, at a very great profit. At Shikarpoor, for instance, Juwaree sells for ten and twelve rupees per khurwar, and at the mouth of the Indus, for twenty-five and thirty, and in Bhawal Khan's country, rice does not bear a higher value than a rupee per maund, though it is of the first quality, while it sells at Shikarpoor for two and a half; but in the Delta again, this grain is very cheap, so that while it may be sent from one section of the river to another, it

would not perhaps prove a profitable export the voyage. This would not, however, be the case with ghee, which, in the Oabiro, sells at eight rupees per maund, and at Shikarpoor sixteen rupees, but though cheaper in the latter the export to a foreign country might be made with great advantage, in fact the profit on some articles would be double and even triple their value. The oil of the Sesamum would yield a profit of 25 per cent. It sells out at Shikarpoor for 31 rupees per maund and in the Delta for export, at eight and nine rupees, and the maund of Vikkur, is four fifths that of Shikarpoor. Sugar, salt, spices, and groceries, may all at present be brought up and down the river with advantage, and a mixed cargo and grain will alike yield profit.

12. The wood of Sinda is not considered of a good quality, except in Boordjah, a district north of Shikarpoor, (where the sikur dye before described is found) and whence it has not yet been exported. I state on pretty good authority, that 800 camel loads of a superior article may be procured in the hills, but the tribe of Boordees are great robbers, and protection is necessary in dealing with them. The immediate districts of Shikarpoor also yield small quantities of wool but in Cachee, westward of Ludkhana among the hills it might also be procured as well as at Deeskot and the country east of Khyrpoor to an extent as I am informed of about a third of this. Lay-sulmeer and Bexmeer yield very superior wool, and they are but 150 miles from the Indus but,

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12 The wood of Sinde is not considered of a good quality, except in Boordgab, a district north of Shikarpoor, (where the sakur dye before described is found) and whence it has not yet been exported. I state on pretty good authority, that 800 camel loads of a superior article may be procured in the hills, but the tribe of Boordees are great robbers, and precaution is necessary in dealing with them. The same is the case at Shikarpoor also.

Ghee, &c.

It might also be procured as well as at Deejeeekot and the country east of Khyrpoor to an extent, as I am informed, of about a third of this. Jaysalmer and Heecaneer yield very superior wool, and they are but 150 miles from the Indus, but,

as doombas or fat-tailed sheep yield the best wool, Kelat is always spoken of as the great mart for this article. The Brahooees, or people of that country, are beginning to appreciate the value of wool. Two years ago some of them took a small quantity to Bombay, which had been bought at three rupees per maund, and which realized twenty. The effect of this was the despatch of one hundred camel loads last year, with as much profit to the exporter as before, only that the Khan has now imposed a duty of two rupees on each load. In Sinde, there are few or no woollen fabrics, except coarse bags, carpets, and shalkees. It sells at twelve and fifteen seer per rupee. In Kelat itself pelisses only are made from wool. Besides Kelat, the wool countries in this neighbourhood are Shawl, Mustoong, Nulwad, and Kejmekran. That of the two last may, no doubt, be best exported from the sea-ports of Guadur and Sonmeanee, but the outlets of the other will, in course of time, be the Indus. Cabool and Toorkistan are, however, wool countries, and as there is such a demand for this article, I have no doubt it might be sent from Attock to Bombay with profit, even though it has been, in the first instance, brought from beyond Hindoo Khoosh. Besides wool, horse-hair might be imported with advantage from Sinde and Cabool, small quantities of it are now taken by horse dealers.

13. In Upper Sinde the places next in importance to Shikarpoor, are Khyrpoor, Ladkhana, and the manufacturing towns of Gumbat, Raneepoor, and Koora. Lieutenant Leech has given, in the

[illegible]

and the Hindoos of India prefer it to all other salt. At Feroz Indira, Indira boats are to be had at rates less than any place on the Indus and for some time till the waters on the river are increased, it will become a good speculation, as one cubic foot of these kind of ropes may be sold for a rupee and eight paise at Hyderabad and the no country boats though sometimes propelled by the wind may be broken up and sold into bundles.

16 The customs of Feroz are annual for rupees 17,500 per annum 2000 of which are levied on the imports from Hyderabad and 2000 on what is sent there. The Feroz duties are said to receive 100,000 rupees by duties throughout their territories on imports and exports. The transit on goods passing the Indus from Candahar to Feroz direct are as follows. Levying at Candahar of value 5 per cent.

	Rs. Rupees
By Hyderabad to Aden Khan-ki-Tonin	12 per Canal
At Feroz	3 6 "
Feroz in the Nar	3 6 "
Duties	2 6 "
	<hr/>
	21 0 =

On reaching Feroz, the duty is no longer levied on the camel load but on a valuation of the articles: thus a piece of English chinix pays seven and a half annas, and if the piece be very

large it is reckoned at three, and taxed accordingly. Wooltain chintzes pay one rupee per score, and if passed on to another place in the course of a month, nothing additional is exacted, if after that time, the tax is repeated. At this present time English goods are from 10 to 12 per cent. dearer at Khyrpoor than Hyderabad. The taxes of Khyrpoor are lighter than in any other part of Sindh. There are two villages near Khyrpoor, Tindi Mustee and Lookman, where no duties are exacted unless the goods are sold, and only a very light transit of ten annas per camel. From Khyrpoor to Subzulcote, the northern frontier of Sindh, east of the Indus, a transit (rahdaree) duty of twenty rupees per camel is levied. On the west of the river, from Shikarpoor to the Seik frontier, there has been lately no open road, on account of the lawless habits of the tribes, but as there is now little to be feared on this account, the tract which is a good one, will come into use, particularly as a short cut between Shikarpoor and Methuncote.

15 The transits and duties leviable on the routes east and west of the Indus, to the frontiers of Sindh, have been stated. I might here note the amount of toll and duty which was levied on the river previous to the treaty, but the statement would be long, complicated, and not much to be depended on, from the many chiefs who shared in it, and the varied mode of exaction, in some places a toll, in others a duty ad valorem, according to the will of the ruler, but in all instances, after such delays that trade had entirely disap-

peared. The last instance, and a very illustrative one it is, which I can hear of any commercial speculation being carried on before the British turned their attention to the improvement of this commerce, was that of two Hindoos, who, about twelve years ago, brought down grain to Shikarpoor, in a season of scarcity. From Methun to that town they paid about 280 rupees of duty on each boat of grain, for a section of the river where a toll of rupees sixty is now leviabable, and from Methun to ——* but rupees 240! The commercial results of the downward navigation of the Indus, as far as they have yet been tried, have proved very satisfactory, so much so indeed, that for a time it will probably turn out a more profitable speculation to send down bulky goods, as sugar, &c. which can be procured higher up, *though they have previously made a long journey*, than navigate without steam from the sea. The sugar from Lodiana, brought, I believe, from Muncumpoor, yielded at Shikarpoor twenty-four rupees per maund, though its original cost had been but five rupees. This would, however, be greatly diminished if the trade from Bombay is persevered in, but, in any case, the means of supplying Khorasan with this great necessary of life, is much facilitated by this route.

16. The great advantages to be derived from the downward navigation, as now exhibited, lead me to note some practical facts concerning that subject at the period when, as it has been estab-

lished beyond doubt by Lieutenant Wood's printed reports, the Indus falls to its lowest, the months of February and March. This happens to be the season at which the rice and jawaree crop of Upper Sindh is brought down to Hyderabad, and ascending the river during these months, we met about 250 vessels. They were very deeply laden, some within a few inches of the water, and drawing from three to five feet water, and one, which Lieutenant Wood measured, had the large draft of five feet six inches. Their mode of procedure was anything but satisfactory, since they made many halts, advanced but eight or ten miles a-day, and always had a pilot boat a head to direct their course and prevent accidents, for it was evident that if such heavily laden vessels missed the channel, and took a bank, it would be most difficult to drag them back. I pointed out these circumstances to some Shikarpoor merchants, as a disadvantageous character of the river, at all events, in February and March, since so much delay would involve loss of interest and profits in a boat having a cargo of merchandize. They, however, informed me that grain boats were always overloaded, that they had a greater object in getting safely than speedily to Hyderabad, and that they carried as much as they could, since their heavy cargoes saved other boat hire, and the grain and the boats generally belonged to government. Nursingdass, a Shikarpoor Dulal, however, produced one practical proof of this assertion, for he accompanied the Indian investment from Shikarpoor in the beginning of March. Hyderabad

abad in six days from Shikarpoor, without accident. The vessel, however, was "Zohruk" or up country boat, with a tonnage of 60 Khirwars, and having mixed cargo, might have carried ten less than her burthen. She descended without pilot or guide, first to Hyderabad and then to the sea; the latter part of the voyage being a little more protracted, but only on account of the southerly winds.

(Signed) A. BURNES,

On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

Shikarpoor, May 6, 1837.

NO. IV.

ON THE TRADE OF KATUL, BY MR. CHAR. MASON.*

KATUL, the capital city of an extensive kingdom, is not only the centre of a large internal trade, but enjoying eminent advantages of locality, ought to possess the whole of the carrying trade between India and Turkistan. A trade has ever existed between India and Afghanistan, the latter deriving from the former a variety of commodities, foreign to the produce of its own soil, climate, and manufactures, while she has little to return beyond fruits of native growth. Afghanistan is dependent upon India for articles indispensable for the convenience of her inhabitants, and the carrying on of her few manufactures, as fine calicoes, indigo, spices, drugs, &c. Of late years, the introduction of British manufactured goods, as fine calicoes, muslins, chintzes, shawls, &c. has produced a new era in this trade, superseding in a great measure the inferior importations as to quality from India, and the more expensive salaries from Kashmir. The consumption of these manufactures at Katul, although extensive and increasing, will, from causes, have a limit,

* This gentleman has been long

tan. Perhaps no spot could have been selected for a mart on the Indus, offering equal advantage with Mithankot, being at once the key to the rivers of the Punjab, and the point nearly at which the merchandize of India is at the present day transmitted to Afghanistan by the medium of the Lohani merchants. It was no trivial point gained, that by the selection, a great portion of the extended trade will be confined to them, as the limited trade is now. Independently of the wisdom of causing no unnecessary innovation in the established usages and practices of a people, the commercial Lohani tribes may be expected to lend every assistance to measures which decrease their labours and lengthened journeys, and increase, consequently, their gains. They have long engrossed the trade between Kabul and Multan, and the monopoly was and is due to their integrity, valour, and industry. No other men could travel even in kuffilas from Kabul to Darband. The Lohanis pass *vi et armis*, and as they pay no duties on the road, and the camels (the beasts of burthen employed) are their own property, no other traders can afford to bring or carry merchandize at so cheap a rate, and they have, therefore, no competitors in the markets they frequent able to undersell them. Moreover, at Kabul and Ghazni, on account of being Afghans, and in conformity to ancient right or indulgence, they pay duties on a lower scale than other individuals. But the Lohanis, a patient and persevering class of men, accustomed to a regular routine of trade, are, from their habits, little

likely to embark in any new speculations, unless encouraged and invited to do so. Their caution and perhaps apathy, cause them to form their investments of such goods as they now will sell, and by no means of such as may sell, seeming to prefer a certain but small profit, to a larger but doubtful one. These reasons, I apprehend, account for the non appearance of very many articles of British and Indian produce and manufactures in the Kabul market, while many articles are found there brought from Ru-sia, via Bokhara, which might be procured better in quality, and cheaper in price from India.

In proportion to the extent and variety in the assortment of goods at Mithankot will, of course, be the facility of introducing and disposing of them. At Qandhar, whose commerce is very short of that of Kabul, but whose merchants generally proceed to Bombay, where there is no want of allurements to purchase from deficiency in the abundance, variety, and display of goods, there are an infinity of articles to be found, which

present, the demand being only increased as spices, indigo, muslins, fine sugar, drugs, &c. were diminished in price by the additional facilities which would be given to commerce, but of the latter, a great variety of new articles might be introduced—chinatzen, fine calicoes, mullees, chaub, &c. of British manufacture, have now be-

Needles re-exported to Kabul
 Steel and copper wire re-exported to Kabul
 Leather of Bulgar re-exported to Kabul
 Paper re-exported to Kabul
 Chinaware rarely to Kabul
 Glassware
 Cutlery
 Loaf sugar very rarely
 Iron in bars
 Steel in bars
 Tin in plates
 Copper in plates re-exported to Kabul
 Brass re-exported to Kabul
 Quicksilver re-exported to Kabul
 Cochineal re-exported to Kabul
 Tea re-exported to Kabul
 Honey
 Wax, white and yellow

In glancing over this imperfect list, it will be obvious that many of the articles of Russian manufacture most largely imported to Kabul, via Bokhara, ought to be superseded by similar ones from Bombay. From Oranburg, the point whence traffic between Russia and Bokhara is principally conducted, there are sixty-two camel or kassa marches, and from Bokhara to Kabul thirty-five camel or kassa marches, being a total of ninety-seven camel or kassa marches, independent of halts. In the distance travelled duties are levied at Khiva, Bokhara, Balkh, Murrear, Khulm, Hybuk, Qunduz, Kahmerd, Sobghan, Baman, and Kabul. That the supplies of

employed sometimes for kabahs, and to cover saddles, &c. This year the battalion soldiers were furnished with caps of velvet, all of Russian fabric. For kabahs, black velvet is in most request, but red and green are also used. Satins are employed sometimes to form articles of dress, most frequently as facings and trimmings.

Sewing threads and silks, I should suppose, would be as saleable at Kabul as at Bokhara, but I have never observed any of European manufacture here. They are brought from Bombay to Hyderabad, and may be seen in the shops there. Gold and silver lace is brought from Bokhara to Kabul, of Russian manufacture, in large quantities; they are also brought from India, both of Indian and British manufacture. The quantity brought from Bokhara exceeds that brought from India.

Steel and copper wire very largely exported from Russia to Bokhara, is introduced at Kabul. I am not aware of the uses or extent of consumption of these articles, but the former, I believe, is used for musical instruments. Leather, churn of Bulgar, is brought from Bokhara to Kabul, of Russian preparation, and in large quantities, being consumed in the construction of military and riding coats, horse-furniture, and mattarrahs, or flaskets for holding water, which every horseman considers a necessary part of his equipments. Leather is also largely prepared at Kabul, and hides are imported from Bajore, Preshawur, &c. Paper, of Russian fabric, is brought from Bokhara to Kabul in very large quantities, and is much in

demand. It is of foolscap size, and of stout inferior quality, and both white and blue in colour, as well as both glazed and unglazed. The blue glazed paper is preferred, unglazed paper being even submitted to the operation of glazing at Kabul. Quantities of Russian paper, both glazed and unglazed, are annually exported from Kabul to Qandihar, at the latter place is also found ordinary white foolscap, (perhaps brought from Bombay), but which, from the water marks, would appear to be of Portuguese fabric, the same article is also plentiful at Hyderabad, and may perhaps be manufactured at Damann. Paper for the Kabul market should be stout, to allow facility of erasure, and on this account, and with reference to the nature of the ink employed, glazed paper is most prized, which is prepared by saturating the unglazed fabric in a composition of starch, and subsequently polishing it. No duty is paid on paper at Kabul.

Chinan are sometimes exported from Bokhara to Kabul, but generally of ordinary Chinese fabric. It is also in a certain demand, which is likely to increase, from the growing habit of tea drinking, &c. Articles of British chinaware are occasionally seen, but they have been brought (probably from Bombay) rather as presents than as objects for sale. In the same manner, tea trays and other conveniences are found. Chinaware, stoneware, and even the superior kinds of earthenware, would no doubt find a sale at Kabul, if a charge on their transmission from Bombay to Mithankot would allow of the sale.

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(Chinaware is sometimes exported from Herat to Kabul, but generally of coarse quality). It is also in a certain demand when the population increases, from the growing taste of the natives &c. Articles of European manufacture are occasionally sent, but they have been brought (perhaps from Bombay) rather as presents than as articles of sale. In the same manner European articles of confectionery are sent. Chinaware is not wanted and even the smallest kinds of earthenware would do little service at Kابل as the charges on the transport from Bombay or Mombasa are too great to be made on but a

articles should be of a solid nature, and fitted for the uses of the purchasers, as plates, dishes, basins, bowls, tea-pots, tea-cups, jugs, &c. chinaware, as well as being in quest for use, is employed for ornament and display. every room in a respectable house having its shelves furnished with sets of basins, bowls, &c. &c. and these are generally of the coarse fabric of Kabul. Chinaware being scarce, and too high in price. The earthenware of Kabul manufacture is very indifferent, although the country abounds with excellent materials.

Glassware exported from Russia to Bokhara is not brought to Kabul for sale, nor is any of British manufacture to be found, although many articles applicable to ordinary and useful purposes would probably sell. To Hyderabad, imports from Bombay are in a greater or less degree made, and glass decanters, with drinking glasses, are common in the shops. During the last five or six years, attempts have been made, generally by Persians, to establish a glass manufactory at Kabul, but the success has not been complete in a profitable point of view. The articles fabricated are bottles, drinking glasses, &c. the glass made is slight, and not very clear, but, upon the whole, of tolerable quality.

Cutlery of Russian manufacture exported to Bokhara is rarely brought to Kabul, nor has English cutlery ever been a subject of trade there. Hyderabad and also Qandahar derive many articles of cutlery from Bombay, as razors, scissors, clasp knives, &c. which would no doubt as readily sell at Kabul. These are manufactured at Kabul

Iron in bars, largely exported from Russia to Bokhara, does not find its way to Kabul, nor does iron of British produce, although exported from Bombay to Kalat of Bilochistan and Qandahar. Kabul derives its iron from the mines of Bajore, and re-exports it to Turkistan, generally in the form of horse-shoes ; large quantities of which are annually sent over the Hindu Hosh mountains from Charreekar of Kohistan. Iron is not abundant at Kabul, and high priced, one and a half seer of unwrought iron selling for the current rupee, and for the same sum half the quantity (three charruks) of wrought irons.

Steel of Russian fabric exported to Bokhara is not introduced at Kabul, which, independently of her own manufacture, derives supplies of Indian steel via Peshawr and Multan, and British steel from Bombay via Qandahar.

Tin plates, or white iron, is largely brought to Bokhara from Russia, but not re-exported thence to Kabul. This article is exported from Bombay to Qandahar, where there are several dokans or shops of whitesmiths.

Copper in plates and bars, very extensively exported from Russia to Bokhara, is also largely exported from the latter place to Kabul, where there is a constant and important consumption of it, for the ordinary household utensils of the inhabitants, for the copper coinage of the government, and for other various purposes. Copper from Bombay is largely introduced into Sindh, Bilochistan, and more to Qandahar. Whether it might be profitably brought to Kabul will be best

determined by the price obtained for it there. New unwrought copper is retailed for eight rupees the seer habul, wrought or fashioned into vessels eleven rupees habum, broken copper purchased by the mint at seven rupees the seer. Notwithstanding the existence of copper in many of the mountains of Afghanistan and Belochistan, there is not a single mine worked in them, or indeed in any region between the Indus and the Euphrates, the Persians deriving their copper via Isterum from Asia Minor, the Uzbeks, and partially the Afghans from Russia, while Qandahar and the maritime provinces of Sindh and

limited but constant consumption of it in the ornaments of horse furniture military arms and equipments, bells for the necks of camels, pestles, mortars &c. &c. occasionally for the casting of guns. Brass utensils are little used by Mohammedans but largely by Hindus and these are brought prepared to habul from the Panjab.

Quicksilver is also brought from India and the
regula
but iron is also brought from India.

Copper exported from Russia to Bokhara is brought thence to habul, where its consumption is by the silk dyers. It sells for seventy rupees habul the round calize, or two and a half calizes of habul.

Iron is exported largely from Russia to Bokhara.

hara, of a kind called there "Khoosh booe;" this is rarely brought to Kabul, but large quantities of ordinary kinds of black and green tea are brought there from Bokhara, which seem to be imported from China via Khokan and Yargand. A superior kind of tea called "Bankah" is sometimes to be procured at Kabul, but not as an article for sale. The consumption of tea will, in process of time, be very considerable at Kabul, the habit of drinking it being a growing one. At Qandahar it does not prevail, and tea, I believe, is seldom or ever carried there for sale. As a beverage, it is also nearly unknown in Bilo-chistan and Sindh. It is considered cheap at Kabul at six rupees the charruk, or one-fourth of a seer.

Honey and wax exported largely from Russia to Bokhara are not introduced to Kabul, which is plentifully supplied with excellent qualities of these articles from its native hills, as those of Bungush, Khonur, and the Sufaid Koh range.

The trade between Russia and Bokhara yields to the Government of the latter a yearly revenue of forty thousand tillahs, collected from the Kafilas passing to and fro. As khiraj or duty is levied at the rate of two and a half per cent. ad valorem, the whole amount of the trade will not be less than 1,600,000 tillahs, or about 12,500,000 rupees—a large excess to the amount of trade between Kabul and Bokhara, which would seem to be about 2,500,000 rupees.

The merchants of Kabul have many of them commercial transactions with Russia itself, and

their agents or gomastahs are resident at Orenburg and Astrakhan, while their intercourse with India seems to exist rather from necessity than choice. The season for the traffic of Kabul inclining towards Russia, for articles of European fabric, may perhaps be discovered in the remoteness from it of any great mart for British manufactures.

to be reached

through countries unknown even by name here, if by a land route from Hyderabad. Sea voyages are generally much dreaded, and a journey to Bombay is seldom performed by an inhabitant of Kabul unless as a consequence of one of the last and most desperate acts of his life, the pilgrimage to Mecca. It may also in part be ascribed to the comparative facility and safety of the communications between Kabul and Bokhara, which, excepting one or two points, are tolerably secure, while the rulers of the intermediate regions are content to levy moderate Raddj or duty upon merchandise, the Governments of Bokhara being in this respect singularly lenient and liberal. The routes between Kabul and India are, with the exception of the dreary and desolate one of the Gornul, impracticable to any kafilah of whatever strength, and this can only be travelled by the Lolans, who are soldiers as well as merchants. But these being also a pastoral community, for the convenience of their flocks, make but one visit to India during the year, and the route is closed except at the periods of their passage and return. The Lolans, born and nurtured in the wilderness,

and inured from infancy to hardship and danger, will encounter, from custom, the difficulties of the Gomul route; but the merchant of Kabul shrinks from them, and the route is likely ever to be monopolized by the Lohanis, and never to become a general one for the merchants of Kabul. The intercourse between Kabul and India would be exceedingly promoted by opening the anciently existing high road from Kabul to Multan, &c., via Bungush and Bannu. This route is very considerably shorter, leads chiefly through a level, fertile, and populous country, is practicable at all seasons of the year, and no doubt could be rendered safe, were the governments on the Indus and of Kabul to co-operate.

The traders of Russia appear very accurately to study the wants and convenience of the people with whom they traffic, and to adapt their exports accordingly. The last year, (1834,) a species of Russian chintz was brought as an experiment from Bokhara to Kabul. It was of an extraordinary breadth, and of a novel pattern, and was sold for three rupees the yard: in like manner was brought Nankah, or linen stamped with chintz patterns, and the readiness with which these articles were disposed of, will probably induce larger exports. The last article is one calculated to supplant the present large importations of British chintzes or stamped calicos. The advantage of superior machinery enabled the skilful and enterprising artisans of Great Britain to effect a memorable revolution in the commerce of Asia, and their white cottons and printed calicos have nearly driven

No. V.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO THE
TRADE ON THE INDUS.

By GEORGE ADAM, Esq. Merchant in London.

From the conclusion of the negotiations under Colonel Pottinger, which ended in the opening of the Indus, little was done towards the introduction of British trade on that river, until towards the end of 1835. At this period the Bombay Government despatched Lieutenants Carless and Wood, of the Indian Navy, to survey the mouths of the river, and the result was, an accurate chart, together with a report, on the subject, which established two important facts, viz :—1st, That the mouths of the Indus were liable to constant changes, and to such a degree, that while one or more of them was often blocked up by the inundation of a single season, another and totally different one was formed by the same means. 2d, That boats drawing more than four feet of water could not be used with advantage or safety

completing the object of his mission, published some "Practical Notes on the Trade and Navigation of the Indus," which furnish a good deal of valuable information on the subject.

At the same time, a wealthy native merchant of Bombay was induced to purchase a small steamer, and despatch her to the Indus, with a consignment of goods. The vessel, which was ill adapted for the purpose, encountered numerous obstacles on her passage up to Hyderabad, arising from the rapidity of the current, to overcome which, her small engine (ten horse power) was by no means sufficient. The goods by her, at the same time, were unsuited to the very limited market of Sind; and the whole speculation turned out a failure. It is not, however, for the small, poor, and wretchedly governed territory of Sind that the navigation of the Indus is desirable, but for the countries beyond; so that the result of this first experiment on the river is of little or no consequence, and, indeed, proves nothing with regard to the trade with central Asia, for which the Indus is principally required.

On the 9th of February 1836, letters were received from Lieut. Wood, one of the officers above mentioned, communicating the result of his survey of the Indus, from the sea to Hyderabad, in the following words:—

"I have but two days returned from my fifth examination of the Indus, between Hyderabad and the sea; and though many of the difficulties that beset us in the little steamer have disappeared with a more minute acquaintance with the

stream, still the Indus is a most foul and perplexing river

“ Most of the difficulties we encountered in our first ascent, are to be attributed to the vessel. With a more powerful steamer, able to propel against the strength of the stream, it would have been different.

“ With regard to the Indus a vessel requiring nine, or perhaps twelve feet water, if once over the entrance, and upon the river, could reach Hyderabad, where the river is at its lowest. I everywhere I have taken sectional soundings I invariably found in some part of the line two and a half or two fathoms, but though I found this depth I would not say that the Indus is navigable at all times to a vessel whose draft is equal to the above, as it might lead to disappointment.

“ Many of the officers who have been in Sindh, speak of the river as a mile wide, but they could not have measured it, as my own eyes and actual measurement soon told me. This loose way of estimating distances has given rise to expectations which the reality does not bear out. But Dr Heddie and I can attest the fidelity with which Sir A. Burnes has delineated the river in his map. At Tatta he makes it 670 yards, I make it 660, but I think he overrates the quantity of water discharged, however, this of course varies at different seasons of the year.”

These, and other reports, which reached England regarding the Indus, appear to have led to a project for navigating that river by steam

vessels. At all events, a prospectus for a company with that object in view, was published in April 1836, and attracted considerable attention, both in India and England, in the latter of which countries the manufacturers, and numerous wealthy individuals connected with commerce, expressed themselves desirous of supporting it. The attention of the Indian government was also attracted by the prospectus, and the greatest desire was shown by it, and its subordinate officers, to support and encourage the undertaking.

In a letter upon this subject, Sir Alexander Burnes states, "I may now assure you, that no man is more disposed to advance your views regarding a commerce on the Indus, than the present governor-general; and one cannot but be delighted with the hearty goodwill that his lordship has exhibited throughout towards your project. I shall only add, that I shall be delighted at all times, and in all ways, to aid you; and if the scheme does not succeed, it shall not be for the want of my putting a willing shoulder to the wheel."

"I may be considered a person who is not disinterested; but I have no hesitation in saying, that in the end, this affair must succeed. There are articles even now on the Indus, in which a trade could be profitably carried on, and is beginning to be so. One great thing is, that the Government has taken the line under its protection. Runjeet Sing, it is true, wanted to unsettle Sind, but we would not let him; and now he

has promised to aid us in our commercial views to the utmost of his power."

The project for navigating the Indus has, however, owing to the commercial crisis which has lately taken place in England, been suspended for the present.

In the meanwhile, the opening afforded by the river for commercial enterprise, is becoming more and more tempting every day. The importance of extending our political and commercial relations with the tribes and states north of the Indus, as far as Cabul and Bokhara, seems to be fully recognised by the government of India, and one of their last acts has been to despatch a mission, under Sir A. Burnes, for the purpose of entering into commercial treaties with the rulers of the countries in question. This officer, at the same time, has had placed under his command an engineer and other officers, for the purpose of effecting a scientific survey of the countries he is to pass through, and the government of India have determined upon procuring a perfect survey and map of the Indus, throughout the whole course of its navigation.

It may be as well to add on this occasion, that one of the objects of Sir A. Burnes' mission is to ascertain the practicality of establishing large fairs, like those of Leipzig and Novogorod, on the banks of the Indus, for the purpose of securing to British enterprise a portion of the large and valuable commerce of central Asia, which is now carried on almost exclusively with the latter mart. The position of Mithankot, on the Indus

is deemed peculiarly favourable for this purpose, as it is only about half as far as Novogorod from Bokhara, through which a large portion of the traders from Cashgar, and the southern and south-eastern portions of Asia, pass to the former place. The project, too, seems feasible enough in other respects; as assemblages, such as are proposed, accord with Asiatic habits of commercial dealing.

As yet, it must be confessed, the Indus has been turned to much less account than might have been anticipated. However, it has recently been made the channel to some extent of a valuable commerce in wool, which has been opened within the last year or two with the Beloochee and Affghan tribes, and has extended as far even as the eastern portion of the Persian province of Korasan. The exports to Great Britain of this article from Bombay, which are principally derived from the sources mentioned, commenced 1833, and have increased in the following manner:—

	Bales.	Cwts.
1833	106	303
1834	439	1,719
1835	2,290	6,363
1836	5,125	14,644

How much further this important trade may be carried, we have no very precise means of ascertaining; but as it is still in its infancy, as the flocks of sheep possessed by the Afghans and other tribes of Asia are exceedingly numerous, and the expense of transit, by means of the

melts, trifling, there is reason to believe that an almost unlimited supply of wool, if required, may be obtained from amongst them, and at a comparatively trifling price, as the article, from its superabundance, is said to possess little or no value until sought after by foreign traders.

The demand for British piece goods appears, on the other hand, to be limited only by the means of payment throughout all the countries north of the Indus. Captain Wade, the political agent at Loodianah, has recently taken the trouble to ascertain the prices of the principal articles in question, sold in the markets of Caubul and Bokhara. The following is an extract of a letter from him on the subject:—

“With the exception of some few articles, I found that we enjoyed a decided advantage in the sale of every description of piece goods at Bokhara over the Russians; and consequently at Caubul.

“If we could afford to undersell them under all the expenses and delays of an overland route, which will be at least half abridged by the opening of the Indus, the advantageous prospects that are held out to our merchants who may engage in the navigation of that river, seem to me to be far from chimerical, unless, indeed, the recent establishment of a Russian port at Mangashak should have placed the commercial relations of Russia with Turkestan on an improved footing, which I have no reason at present to suppose.”

The prices current of British goods forwarded by this gentleman, together with the bulk of native

prove that most articles of that description which are sold in Bokhara and Caubul, including muslins, calicoes, cambrics, shirtings, broad cloths, flannels, and silks and satins, bring in the former 90, and in the latter 40 per cent. more than in the market of Calcutta.

Captain Wade also communicates the discovery of a bed of coal on the banks of one of the principal tributaries of the Indus, in the following extract of a letter, dated the 15th of October 1836:—

“You will be glad to hear that a coal mine has been discovered on the hills on the banks of the Sutledge. Reports had reached me of the existence of the mineral in these hills; and the fact has since been established beyond a doubt, by the transmission of several baskets of coals thence as a specimen. Of its quality I cannot speak positively: it appears to contain a good deal of carbonic matter, emits a disagreeable odour in burning, and requires a considerable degree of heat to ignite.”

Hence it appears that scarcely any thing is now wanting to render the Indus the channel of an enormous trade: situated more advantageously than any other stream for becoming the commercial outlet and inlet to the vast and populous territories on the north and west of the Himaliaya mountains, as well as a large tract south of that chain, all it has required to become available for that purpose has been the protection and superintendence of a good government. These are now afforded; and political events clearly point out

the stream as likely to become at an early day the advanced post, if not the boundary, of British power in India. The time, therefore, has surely arrived, when a moderate outlay of capital may be staked with advantage, to introduce steam navigation upon such an admirable field, and thus open central Asia more completely to British trade, and enable our manufacturers and merchants to compete throughout that vast tract of country with their rivals the Russians.

All that is required for this purpose at present is a single steam boat of moderate dimensions, to be employed experimentally, either as a tug or cargo boat, and the first price of such a vessel, it appears by a recent estimate would be about 4,000*l*. From 5,000*l* to 6,000*l*, therefore would secure the object in view, and even if devoted without any prospect of return, does not seem too much to promote a great national object.

No. VI.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE SINDE TRIBES
OF SUMRAH AND SAMMAH, DRAWN UP FOR THE
AUTHOR BY HIS FRIEND JAMES BIRD, Esq. F.R.G.S.
1836.—BOMBAY.

“Two Persian accounts of these tribes are in my possession, one of which was drawn up for the late Captain M'Murdo, by Sundass, son of Dewan Muta Mul, and the other is in Mir Maasum's History of Sind. Both agree in stating that the Sumrahs were originally Mahommedans, descended from Aboulahil, the uncle of the prophet Mahomed; and that one of the tribe, who, in the beginning of the eleventh century of our era, obtained power in Sind, married into the family of Sammah, and had a son named Bhaonagar. The chief who had been thus placed at the head of the tribe, was named Hallah, the son of Chotah, a descendant of Omar Sumrah, first of the family mentioned in their history. Cotemporary with Chotah was his brother, Deva Rai, sometimes called Dilu Rai, the ruler of Alore, who, being guilty of infidelity, caused, it is said, the destruction of this city.

The son born to Hallah Sumrah, by the daughter of the Sammah family, had for his descendants, Dodah, Singhar, Hamif, and others, who possessed the Dan-
 or sandy desert,
 mselves into the
 pergunnahs of Thurr, Sammawati, Rupah, and Nasirpur

The history of the tribe, and their origin, is involved in much obscurity, and, except the statement of their descent from the family of the prophet, there is nothing satisfactory regarding them, to be found in any Indian author. They derive their name, as before-mentioned, from the city of Saumrah on the Tigris, and appear to have sprung from the followers of Tamin Ansari, mixed with the Arab tribes of Tamin and Kureish, who were introduced into the country as early as A D 712, when Mahommed Kasim, one of the vassals of Katiba, Lieutenant-Governor of Khorasan, under Hyy bin Yusuf, annexed the territory of Sindh to the dominions of Islam. If we may trust the authority of Mir Maasum, Mahomed Kasim, at this time, established Daod the son of Tai, and Nasir, the son of Walid Osman, in the government of Multan, and Abd al Malik, of the Banu Tamim, in the fort of Debalpur.

About Hij 332, A D 943, Masudi visited Multan, where Abu Dilhas Alambah, the son of Adad the Syrian, and of the tribe of Kureish, was then governor. Having subsequently visited Manourah, he relates that the prince there was Abul Munir Omar, the son of Abdullah.

whom many chiefs of the Arabs, descended from Hamzah, the uncle of the prophet, and Ali his cousin, were then subject. To these ancestors we may trace the Saiyds of Sinde, and the family of the Sumrahs.

Several years previous to the arrival of Mahomedans from Samarah, a governor of the country, and subject to the Khalifs of the house of Ommaiah, built Mansurah. According to the Arabic geographical dictionary, called *Maajmul Balidan*, and also Masudi, this person is named Manhur, the son of Jamhur. The city, which is described of great extent, and rich in commercial articles, was situated on a canal of the river Mihran, or Indus. Its inhabitants were of the family of Hibar Ibn Alaswad, descended from the Bani Omar of the tribe of Kureish; and its probable site was that fixed on by D. Anville and Captain M'Murdo, where Nasirpur was founded at a subsequent period.

The Sumrahs, as already mentioned, became first known in Indian history during the reign of Mahmood of Ghizni, and lost their own power in Sinde about A. D. 1351, when, during the reign of Firoz Toghlak, an army from Delhi was led into Sivistan, against the Moghuls of Seistan, who had invaded Sinde. At this period, the name of fam Abrah Sammah first appears in history; and under this chief, the Sammahs of Kach, a branch of the Rajputs, migrated from their original country into Kach and Kattywar.

The Summahs, who succeeded to the power of the Sumrahs, were originally a pastoral tribe, in-

habiting the plains of Mekran, west of the Indus. Their family title of Jam would indicate their Persian descent, and they were probably the remains of that people who formed the kingdom of the Balhara, whose capital, in the time of Masudi, was called Samagarab, or Mangir, which appears to be the same as the fort of Schwan, for Masudi says it was situated between the mountains and Sawi. The Sammahs were in possession of Sindh and its neighbourhood from A. D. 1351 to 1528, when Jam Iroz fled to Bahadur Shah of Gujerat."

The same gentleman has communicated the following observations on the Indus: "The Indus is described by all the early Arabic geographers under the name of Mekran, which was meant to designate the large river rising beyond the Himala mountains while the appellation of Sindh Rod or Sindh River was given to it. . . . It is described

east to south

sea, the etc

days from J

would appear to be the same place as Tatta" —

